A

SUMMARY

OF

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

FROM

THE CREATION

TO THE

PRESENT TIME.

IN LETTERS FROM A FATHER TO HIS SON.

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Universal History,

Commencing with the Year 141, *and Ending at the Death of Chriſt.*

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guardianſhip of Antiochus Theos, the minor king of Syria. This was treacherouſly accompliſhed from Tryphon's knowing the integrity of Jonathan, and that he would be a moſt dangerous opponent to his ambitious views. And having thus got rid of him, Tryphon diſpatched the Syrian king, after which he uſurped the vacant throne.

Simon, the ſucceſſor of Jonathan, owed nothing but reſentment to Tryphon. And having taken upon himſelf the title of Prince of Judea, he prepared to revenge his murdered brother. For this purpoſe he made overtures to Demetrius Nicator, who had been dethroned; who moſt gladly embraced the terms which Simon propoſed. But this unfortunate Prince was ſoon after taken priſoner by the Parthians. Nicator's brother, Antiochus Sidetes, then became the competitor of Tryphon; and he ſecured the aſſiſtance of the Jews, by the ſame conceſſions which had been granted by Demetrius.

The garriſon of Arca, which had held out through all theſe changes, at length ſubmit-

ted to Simon, by whom this dangerous fortreſs was deſtroyed. He likewiſe had the precaution to lay up ſtores of wealth and arms. And well it was that he conducted himſelf with ſo much prudence; for Sidetes had no ſooner ſecured the Syrian ſceptre, than he declared, that Judea muſt again become its tributary.

To ſupport this demand, a very conſiderable army was ſent againſt the Jews. John and Judas, the ſons of Simon, were prepared for its reception; and in an engagement which took place, the Syrians were entirely defeated. This victory was, however, ſoon clouded by the death of Simon; who, together with his ſons Judas and Mattathias, were treacherouſly ſlain by Ptolemy, his ſon-in-law. That wretch had aſpired to the Jewiſh crown. But John, ſirnamed Hyrcanus, the ſon of Simon, eſcaping the ſlaughter of his family, the hopes of Ptolemy were fruſtrated, and he ſaved himſelf by flight.

Theſe domeſtic troubles ſeem, however,

to have weakened the Jewiſh ſtrength; for, on Antiochus Sidetes entering Judea in perſon, Hyrcanus made but little oppoſition. Sidetes, however, behaved with great lenity. And after granting Hyrcanus better terms than could be expected, he led his forces againſt more dangerous enemies.

On the death of Sidetes, which happened very ſoon after, Syria was torn by the moſt dreadful interior diſſentions. Hyrcanus had, therefore, nothing to fear from that quarter; and he not only threw off the yoke, but in his turn became a conqueror. Samaria was added to his dominions, inſtead of continuing tributary to Syria. The Edomites who had been ſo long ſevered from Judea, were unable to withſtand him. They conſented to reſign their own laws and cuſtoms, adopting in their ſtead the Jewiſh diſpenſation. And thus the deſcendants of Eſau and Jacob acknowledged one common ſovereign, and were compleatly blended together.

Hyrcanus now ſolicited a renewal of the alliance with Rome. This was eaſily obtained;

for it was the policy of that republic to divide the Eaſt into as many independent ſtates as poſſible, thereby preventing any great empire from ariſing in that quarter. And Hyrcanus having thus ſecured his tranquility, reſtored Judea to a very conſiderable degree of power.

About the year 107, he was ſucceeded by his ſon Ariſtobulus; who was far from being the ſucceſſor of his father's virtues. And though he only reigned one year, he, in that time, put to death his mother and one of his brothers, from a jealouſy of their intentions.

The crown now devolved on Alexander Jannæus, another ſon of Hyrcanus, who began with cutting off his only ſurviving brother. He was engaged in ſeveral wars, by which he rather enlarged his dominions. His reign was, however, grievouſly diſturbed by religious diſſentions: For though the real duties of life were, at this time, very little attended to by the Jews, yet the different

explanations of the Moſaic law, gave riſe to the greateſt animoſities. After bearing the ſceptre for twenty-ſeven years, Jannæus bequeathed it to his queen Alexandra; who appointed her eldeſt ſon, Hyrcanus, to the vacant High-Prieſthood.

The diſputes of the Sadducees and Phariſees, at this time, roſe to a higher pitch than ever. The queen, together with the High-prieſt, declared for the latter, treating the former with a good deal of ſeverity. But the Sadducees found an advocate in Ariſtobulus, the younger ſon of Alexandra; who ſought to make them inſtrumental to his deſigns upon the crown.

Accordingly, on the death of his mother, he openly avowed his intentions; and putting himſelf at the head of the Sadducees, he took the field againſt his brother. Hyrcanus, with the Phariſees, ſoon after gave him battle. But Ariſtobulus proved victorious, and both the crown and High-Prieſthood were reſigned to him, on condition that

Hyrcanus ſhould be permitted to enjoy his private fortune.

One Antipater was, at this time, governor of Idumea. He was a native of that country, and having, with the reſt of its inhabitants, embraced the Jewiſh law, he avowed himſelf a Phariſee. He therefore determined to break this agreement ſo fatal to his party. And having engaged Aretas, king of Arabia, in his intereſts, he prevailed on Hyrcanus to take ſhelter in that court.

Aretas, with a powerful army, now reconducted Hyrcanus to his native country. Antipater, with the reſt of the Phariſees, immediately declaring for him, Ariſtobulus was, in his turn, defeated; and flying to Jeruſalem, he fortified himſelf in its temple, abandoning the city to his ſucceſsful opponent.

This event took place about the year 65, when Pompey commanded the Roman forces in Syria. Ariſtobulus, therefore, as his laſt reſource, implored the aſſiſtance of Pompey,

who readily declared himſelf an umpire between the contending parties. He, at the ſame time, ordered Aretas to retire with his forces, which the Arabian did not dare to diſobey. Hyrcanus and Ariſtobulus were then ſummoned to come in perſon before him. And to ſuch a height was the Roman power, at this time, ariſen, that both immediately ſet out for Syria.

The contending Princes took with them very conſiderable preſents, in order to procure the favour of their arbitrator. But though Pompey enriched himſelf at their joint expence, he declared for Hyrcanus. On this Ariſtobulus flew to arms; being however ſoon ſubdued, he and his ſons Alexander and Antigonus were tranſmitted to Rome.

It would neither be entertaining nor improving to give you an account of ſome diſturbances which Ariſtobulus and Alexander afterwards created in Judea, having found means to eſcape from the Romans. It is ſufficient to ſay, they were defeated in all

their attempts; and that Ariſtobulus being retaken, was again conducted to the Roman capital.

As Syria was at this time become a province; and as the Jews had been formerly tributary to that kingdom, they were from henceforth conſidered by the Romans as ſubject to their juriſdiction. Gabinius, the Prefect of Syria, accordingly divided the territories of Hyrcanus into five diſtricts, over which as many governors were appointed. When Craſſus ſucceeded Gabinius, he went ſtill farther, for he plundered the temple of Jeruſalem of more than two millions of our money, without the Jews even daring to oppoſe him. And thus it appears, that though Hyrcanus retained the name of Prince, he was in fact poſſeſſed of little more than the power belonging to the High-Prieſthood.

After the death of Craſſus, Caius Caſſius for a ſhort time commanded in Syria. During that period, Ariſtobulus's party again made head, under one Pitolaus. But Caſſius

coming to the aid of Hyrcanus, Pitolaus was totally defeated.

When Julius Cæſar and Pompey quarrelled, the Jews ſided with the latter. Cæſar therefore gave Ariſtobulus his liberty, in order to create a diverſion in Judea. But Pompey had him put to death on his road to that country. His ſon Alexander likewiſe loſt his life in a ſhort time after. On which Alexandra, the widow of Ariſtobulus, and her ſon Antigonus, took ſhelter in the court of Mennæus, king of Chalchis.

Antipater had continued the firſt in favour with Hyrcanus from the time of his reſtoration, exerciſing, in fact, whatever power belonged to his maſter. And after the death of Pompey, an opportunity of turning Cæſar's reſentment into friendſhip ariſing, Antipater had too much wiſdom to neglect it. Cæſar had got himſelf into a moſt dangerous ſituation in Egypt, from whence he ſent orders to Syria and other parts for the moſt ſpeedy aid. When theſe troops entered Judea, Antipater not only ſupplied them with every

thing they wanted, but reinforced them at the head of a Jewiſh army. And when they arrived in Egypt, he moſt particularly ſignalized himſelf in the relief of Cæſar. In return, Cæſar made him a Roman citizen, and Procurator of Judea. He likewiſe conferred the governments of Jeruſalem and Sephoris, two of the five diſtricts into which Hyrcanus's dominions had been divided, on Phaſaelus and Herod, the ſons of Antipater; thereby raiſing this Idumean family to a very high degree of power.

During the life of Julius Cæſar, the Jews were bleſſed with the moſt perfect tranquility. But Caſſius, one of the conſpirators who ſlew him, coming into Aſia, impoſed a very heavy tax on the five Jewiſh diſtricts. Phaſaelus and Herod indeed made up theirs with great expedition, thereby rendering themſelves very agreeable to Caſſius, who beſtowed the government of Cœlo-Syria upon Herod. But the other three diſtricts not bringing in their quotas with the ſame punctuality, many of their inhabitants were ſold

as ſlaves, to make up the tax which was demanded.

A little after this Antipater died of poiſon, given him by one Malichus. He was revenged by Herod, who put the murderer to death; and likewiſe ſuppreſſed an inſurrection which the brother of Malichus had occaſioned. A danger of greater magnitude ſoon after threatened Judea. Antigonus, the ſon of Ariſtobulus, being aſſiſted by the prince of Chalcis, appeared at the head of a conſiderable army, to claim the crown of Hyrcanus. Herod, however, defeated him alſo. And Mariamne, the daughter of Hyrcanus, a Princeſs of the moſt exquiſite beauty, was thereupon given him in marriage.

After the defeat of Brutus and Caſſius at Philippi, Marc Antony renewed all the edicts of Julius Cæſar in favour of the Jews. He alſo cauſed all thoſe whom Caſſius had ſold into ſlavery to be redeemed. And Herod, with his brother Phaſaelus, likewiſe found means to ingratiate themſelves with this powerful Roman.

On Antony's Lieutenants in Syria being defeated by Pacorus, king of Parthia, the Jews were involved in freſh difficulties; for both Pacorus and the Prince of Chalcis eſpouſed the cauſe of Antigonus, and led their forces againſt Judea. Several engagements enſued without any thing deciſive, and a pacific treaty was the conſequence. On the part of Antigonus it was however inſincere, for he treacherouſly deprived Hyrcanus and Phaſaelus, the brother of Herod, of their liberty. The ears of the firſt were then cut off, that he might be for ever rendered incapable of the High Prieſthood. And the latter being either put to death, or having laid violent hands upon himſelf, Antigonus poſſeſſed himſelf of the Jewiſh ſceptre.

Herod having narrowly eſcaped the ſnare into which his brother and father-in-law had fallen, immediately poſted to Rome. There he ſolicited and obtained from Antony and Octavius Cæſar a grant of the Jewiſh crown, with orders to the Roman governors in that quarter to aſſiſt him in obtaining the poſſeſ-

ſion of it. Thus ſupported, Herod did not delay aſſerting his pretenſions. Many engagements took place, till at length Antigonus was forced to take ſhelter in Jeruſalem. Having made an obſtinate defence, it was taken by ſtorm, thouſands of its inhabitants being put to the ſword. After which Antigonus was tranſmitted to Antony, by whom he was put to death, at the deſire of Herod.

Thus ended the regal power of the Aſmonæan or Macabæan family. They were called Macabæan from Judas Macabæus; and Aſmonæan from Aſmonæus, the anceſtor of the virtuous Mattathias.

It was about 38 years before the birth of Chriſt, that Herod the Great, for ſo he is diſtinguiſhed, aſcended the Jewiſh throne; nor was he long on it, before he diſplayed his real character. He put to death, without mercy, all the friends and adherents of Antigonus, at the ſame time enriching himſelf by their poſſeſſions. His own party was alſo plundered, for he ordered, almoſt indiſcriminately, all the wealth of Jeruſalem into

his coffers, ſtopping at nothing that either gratified his avarice or his reſentment.

Hyrcanus being a maimed perſon, was excluded, by the Jewiſh law, from the High Prieſthood. It however of right belonged to his ſon Ariſtobulus. But Herod, foreſeeing the danger of raiſing the lawful heir of the crown itſelf to ſo exalted a ſtation, had given that office to one Ananel. Alexandra, the mother of Ariſtobulus, therefore ſolicited Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, in favour of her ſon, whoſe influence over Antony was well known. When Herod heard this, he thought proper to depoſe Ananel, at the ſame time beſtowing the High Prieſthood on Ariſtobulus. Ariſtobulus was at this time a beautiful and engaging youth; and recalling to the minds of the Jews the heroic actions of his Macabæan anceſtors, Jeruſalem reſounded with his praiſe. A praiſe, however, that proved fatal to him; for Herod dreading his popularity, had him drowned whilſt taking the diverſion of ſwimming, after having ſuffered him to enjoy his office about one year.

Alexandra inſtantly accuſed Herod; calling on Antony, who then reſided in Egypt, to revenge this murder. Herod was accordingly ordered before the Roman Tribunal. He, however, took with him a ſum ſufficient to atone for any offence with ſuch a man as Antony; and on his return, he impriſoned Alexandra.

Before he ſet out for Egypt, being doubtful of his fate, he left orders with Joſeph, his uncle, that if he was executed, Mariamne ſhould be put to death; which aroſe from a jealouſy that even extended beyond the grave. When the news of his acquittal arrived, Joſeph told Mariamne of his private orders, as a proof of the exceſſive love of Herod. But this was not the light in which it appeared to Mariamne. And when added to the murder of her brother, it had ſuch an effect, that ſhe could not conceal her loathing and diſguſt.

Salome, a ſiſter of Herod's, was at the ſame time the wife of Joſeph, her uncle. She hated her huſband, and Mariamne was

alſo odious to her. Therefore, when ſhe perceived the manner in which Mariamne received the king, and that ſhe at the ſame time accuſed him of the private inſtructions he had given to Joſeph, ſhe plotted their deſtruction; by perſuading Herod, that nothing but a criminal connexion could have drawn ſuch a ſecret from Joſeph. Thus inſtigated, the frantic monarch immediately cauſed his uncle to be put to death, whilſt Mariamne herſelf moſt narrowly eſcaped.

Herod was now engaged in a conteſt with the Arabians, which after many doubtful battles, terminated in a treaty of peace. Beſides theſe ravages of war, his dominions were alſo afflicted with an earthquake, which did much miſchief.

When Antony was defeated at Actium, Herod, who had been of his party, haſtened to throw himſelf on the mercy of the victorious Octavius Cæſar. But influenced by a cruel policy, he firſt cauſed the aged Hyrcanus to be put to death, though he had reſided at Jeruſalem under the moſt ſolemn

promiſes of ſafety. Herod likewiſe left the ſame orders as to the beautiful Mariamne, that he had formerly given prior to his journey to Egypt. She ſuppoſed it was ſo, and found means to draw the ſecret from Sohemus, a favourite miniſter, to whom it was entruſted. This, in addition to the murder of her late father, was too much for her feelings. When Herod returned, ſhe therefore openly avowed her deteſtation. And Salome, at the ſame time, falſely accuſing her of an intrigue with Sohemus, the enraged king ordered both queen and favourite to an inſtant execution.

But the ſentence was ſcarcely performed, when the moſt poignant ſorrow filled his breaſt. With Mariamne periſhed even the ſemblance of happineſs. Her charms were conſtantly preſent to his imagination, whilſt her fancied crimes were buried in the grave; and in a ſtate of phrenzy, he frequently ordered his attendants to bring her before him, as if ſhe had been ſtill amongſt the living. Thus miſerable himſelf, he reſolved to ex-

tend his wretchedneſs to ll within his reach. For, from this period, his friends and foes were pretty equally ſacrificed to his reſentment and caprice.

Not long after the death of Mariamne, Judea was afflicted with a grievous plague. The king being ſeized with it, and being alſo ſuppoſed to be at the point of death, Alexandra, though ſtill in priſon, began to intrigue for the crown. But ſhe paid for it with her life on the recovery of Herod

In order to baniſh his uneaſy reflections, the tyrant, from henceforth, indulged himſelf in every expenſive enjoyment. He inſtituted all the Roman ſports and cuſtoms; building at the ſame time the moſt magnificent theatres and amphitheatres for their exhibition. And as he entirely diſcountenanced the Jewiſh worſhip, he was ſuppoſed to be on the point of eſtabliſhing idolatry. This idea having gone abroad, ten young Jews came to the determination of aſſaſſinating him. But a diſcovery taking place before it could be executed, they were put to death.

The informer againſt them was, however, torn in pieces by the populace; from whence Herod perceived the univerſal deteſtation in which he was held by his ſubjects. He, therefore, determined on the moſt ſanguinary meaſures; not only putting to death ſuch as were found to have been actually concerned in deſtroying the informer, but alſo their wives—their children—and all their relations. And to prevent the poſſibility of a revolt, he every where ſtrengthened his forts and garriſons.

To this calamity of Herod's creating, nature, about the ſame time, added a moſt grievous peſtilence and famine. On this occaſion the tyrant ſeems to have changed his nature; for, having brought great quantities of corn from the neighbouring countries, he diſtributed it amongſt his people. From the reſt of his actions, it is indeed moſt probable, that this apparent humanity was ſelfiſh. And that he conſidered his ſubjects in the light of ſheep or oxen, preſerving them merely becauſe they added wealth to his poſſeſſions.

Herod, though thus deteſted at home, found means to continue in the higheſt favour with Octavius—now Auguſtus Cæſar. And on ſending his two ſons, by the unfortunate Mariamne, to be educated at Rome, Cæſar not only lodged them in his own palace, but treated them with the moſt particular attention. Beſides this, Auguſtus added ſome very conſiderable diſtricts to the dominions of Herod; and though many accuſations were made againſt him, they were always diſregarded. Money at this time did every thing at Rome, and no man knew better how to apply it than the tyrant of Judea.

Herod himſelf had been equally rapacious in obtaining wealth, and laviſh in its expenditure. Much had gone to Rome, but much more had been laid out on the public edifices, which were erected throughout his territories. He had built for himſelf a ſplendid palace at Jeruſalem, and another at Herodian, about ſeven miles diſtant from the capital. At the ſource of the river Jordan, a ſuperb temple was erected in honour of

Auguſtus Cæſar; and a number of other ſtructures every where decorated the land. But now, either to make a laſting monument of his greatneſs, or to ſoothe a people that abhorred him, or perhaps from both motives, he determined to rebuild the temple of Solomon on its original plan. Reſolving, if poſſible, to make it exceed its former magnificence.

Before the temple, which had been built on their return from the Babyloniſh captivity, was thrown down, the prieſts, however, took care that all the materials for the new were exactly prepared. By this means it was erected in the ſame manner as that of Solomon's, without any chiſſel or tool of iron being uſed in putting the different articles together. And when finiſhed, its amazing ſtructure and ornaments became an object of admiration, even in thoſe days of Roman grandeur.

After this great undertaking was commenced, Herod paid a viſit to Rome, bringing back with him his ſons by the unfortunate

Mariamne. Alexander, the eldeſt, was ſoon after married to Glaphyra, the daughter of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia. And Ariſtobulus, the younger, to Berenice, the daughter of Salome. Theſe youths could not, however, refrain from accuſing Salome of being the cauſe of their mother's execution. In return, that Princeſs meditated their deſtruction, in which ſhe was joined by her brother Pheroras. By them Herod was induced to believe, that Alexander and Ariſtobulus plotted againſt his life; on which theſe youths were tranſmitted to Rome, where they were proſecuted before Auguſtus Cæſar. But the Emperor acquitted them, and for the preſent reconciled them to their father.

Herod not only ornamented his territories as already related, but he alſo added conſiderable cities in different quarters; particularly one on the Mediterranean, to which he gave the name of Cæſarea. By ſuch vaſt expenditures, his finances were at length reduced to the loweſt ebb. And as his ſub-

jects were burthened more than they could well bear, he reſolved to rifle the tombs of David and Solomon, which were ſuppoſed to contain immenſe riches. On opening them, he was however diſappointed, and was proceeding to examine the coffins; but Joſephus relates, that he was ſtopped by a miraculous fire, which deſtroyed two of his attendants. And as an atonement for this invaſion of the dead, Herod erected a pillar of white marble near the entrance of the ſepulchre.

Alexander and Ariſtobulus falling under freſh accuſations, were again tried by Auguſtus. He now condemned them; at the ſame time leaving their puniſhment to their father's diſcretion. Herod, however, ſhewed them no mercy, and they periſhed by his orders. A new conſpiracy ſoon after took place, at the head of which was Antipater, the favourite ſon of Herod, and Pheroras, Herod's brother, was alſo in the plot. On its being diſcovered, the latter poiſoned himſelf, but Antipater, for the preſent, eſcaped,

being abſent from Judea. Doris, his mother, was however baniſhed, from a ſuſpicion of her being privy, and another of Herod's wives received the ſame ſentence, as ſhe likewiſe was ſuppoſed to be concerned.

It was about this time that John the Baptiſt was born, and a few months afterwards the Saviour of the world. Jeruſalem was put into an uproar in a ſhort time ſubſequent to theſe events, by the arrival of ſome wiſe men from the Eaſt. They publicly declared, that they had ſeen the ſtar of the new born king of the Jews, and enquired where he was, that they might worſhip him. This moſt dreadfully alarmed Herod, who conſidered the Meſſiah which was then expected, to be a temporal Prince, that would drive both him and his family from the Jewiſh throne. He therefore ſent for the wiſemen, carefully examining them touching their errand. And then concealing his real intentions, he ordered them to return as ſoon as they had found the royal infant, and acquaint

him where he was, that he alſo might go and pay his homage.

But the wiſemen being divinely inſtructed, returned to the Eaſt by another way; and Herod thus diſappointed in this his firſt ſcheme, had recourſe to another. He gathered together the moſt intelligent of the Jewiſh Prieſts, demanding of them where the Meſſiah was to be born. Bethlem being the reply, the inhuman tyrant commanded that all the children of that diſtrict, under a certain age, ſhould be deſtroyed. Which being executed, he had no doubt but Jeſus was amongſt the ſlain.

Herod was now ſeized with a diſeaſe, the conſequence of which was lice iſſuing from all parts of his body. And Joſephus ſays, it was deemed by all as a judgment for the maſſacre at Bethlem. During his illneſs, which was lingering, a premature report of his death prevailing, a number of the Jews, headed by two, called Mattathias and Judas, began to deſtroy whatever appeared heathenish about Jeruſalem; but being ſuppreſſed,

the two leaders were burned by order of Herod. His ſon, Antipater, who had fallen into his hands, was alſo executed; and the father expreſſed a ſavage joy on that occaſion, though himſelf at the point of diſſolution.

During his laſt illneſs, Herod had removed to Jericho, in hopes of beneſiting by a change of ſituation. But finding his end inevitable, and well knowing how joyful it would be to his ſubjects, he determined on cloſing the ſcene with as horrid an act as ever diſgraced his life. He directed, that all the principal men throughout his dominions ſhould immediately repair to Jericho. As death would have been the conſequence of diſobedience, this order was complied with; and when they arrived, Herod cauſed them all to be ſhut up in the Circus. He next obtained a moſt ſolemn promiſe from his ſiſter Salome, and her then huſband, that they would put them to death the moment he expired. This he did, that a general mourning might take place at the time of his

deceaſe. But either from policy or humanity, Salome cauſed the impriſoned Jews to be ſet at liberty the inſtant Herod was no more. The exact year in which he died is diſputed. It was, however, before the ſixth of the Chriſtian Æra, at which time he could not have been leſs than ſeventy years of age.

Herod was one of the moſt worldly ſucceſsful men in hiſtory. He was born a private ſubject, and that too of the Idumean race. Yet, when we take in the countries added by the Romans to his dominions, he was more powerful than any of the Jewiſh Princes ſubſequent to Solomon. Judea and all his territories were full of the nobleſt monuments of his greatneſs. Cities, palaces, and magnificent edifices were every where erected. And thus, at an outward glance, one might ſuppoſe Herod to have been amongſt the moſt enviable of men. But view his life in its true colours, and then contemplate with horror the wretched Herod. Behold him with his hands dipt in the blood of Hyrcanus, the raiſer of his father's fortunes and

his own. Dipt in the blood of Ariſtobulus, the lawful owner of the Jewiſh crown. Dipt in the blood of Mariamne, at once the object of his love and hatred. Dipt in the blood of multitudes of his friends, relations, and ſubjects. And, above all, dipt in the blood of innocent and helpleſs infancy. But ſuppoſe it even poſſible, that the reflections incident to ſuch crimes could be ſuppreſſed; yet Herod was in conſtant apprehenſion of loſing his ill got wealth and greatneſs. He knew he was univerſally hated by his ſubjects; and even in his own family he was not ſecure. His wives—his ſons—his brother—plotted againſt his life and crown. His people every day evinced their inclination to revolt, and kept him in continual anxiety. Thus paſſed his moſt proſperous days; but towards the cloſe of his life, the moſt poignant bodily complaints were added to his miſery. And, at length, loaded with guilt and diſeaſe—deteſted by all—without one pleaſing reflec-

tion as to the paſt—or one bright ray of hope as to the future—he ſunk into eternity.

This is the true point of view in which we ſhould behold ſuch characters. It is not mere wealth—mere power—mere grandeur—that can in any ſhape beſtow happineſs. They may indeed give the means of ſuperior enjoyment, as the poſſeſſor is thereby enabled to enlarge the felicity of others. Such ſentiments of philanthropy renders an exalted ſtation moſt truly deſirable. But he who does not feel them, had better for ever remain in a ſtate of obſcurity.

Herod, by his laſt will, left the kingdom to his ſon Archelaus, whom he had by one of his wives, named Martac. But this bequeſt was to have no force, unleſs it was confirmed by Auguſtus Cæſar. As ſoon, therefore, as Archelaus had interred his father, which he did with great magnificence, he poſted to Rome. And Salome likewiſe made application to Cæſar, both on her own account, and in behalf of Antipas and Philip,

who were ſons of Herod by his wife Cleopatra.

After a little conſideration, Auguſtus made the following diſtribution. To Archelaus he gave the government of Judea, Samaria Propria, and Idumea; with a promiſe that the title of King ſhould be added if he acquitted himſelf with propriety. Salome got a few cities to herſelf. Some more were added to the province of Syria; and the remainder of Herod's dominions were divided between Philip and Antipas.

Whilſt this arrangement was adjuſting, ſeveral tumults were raiſed and ſuppreſſed in Judea. But Archelaus's return by no means gave happineſs to the countries committed to his care. Inſtead of obtaining the title of King, he behaved with ſo much impropriety, that Cæſar removed him from the government; Judea, Samaria Propria, and Idumea from thenceforth becoming a Roman province. This being highly diſagreeable to the Jews, one Judas, a robber, took the advan-

tage of their diſaffection, and put himſelf at the head of a number of Banditti; he then declared, that he would redreſs all grievances, both civil and religious. And under theſe pretences, his troops, who were called Zealots, committed the moſt dreadful devaſtations.

Cyrenius, the Prefect of Syria, being ordered to ſuperintend this new province, which was called Judea, ſent Coponius to govern it. He quickly reduced it to obedience, and was ſucceeded, firſt by Ambivius, and then by Annius Rufus. But on the death of Auguſtus, in the year 14 or 15, Valerius Gracchus was nominated by the new Emperor Tiberius.

Ever ſince the commencement of Herod's reign, the High Prieſthood had ceaſed to be either hereditary or for life. That office was extremely lucrative, and as it was now in the appointment of the governor, many changes took place. During Gracchus's adminiſtration, which laſted about eleven years, there were not leſs than five or ſix removals. And

under Pilate, who ſucceeded him about the year 26, this appointment ſeems to have become annual.

The competition hereby raiſed amongſt the Jewiſh Prieſts was extremely detrimental to religion. Inſtead of exerting themſelves in ſpiritual affairs, they were taken up in ſeeking the road to earthly grandeur and preferment. Indeed the doctrines of the Old Teſtament had, for a long time, been but little attended to; whilſt outward forms, and ſubtile reaſonings took their place, and created endleſs animoſities, For beſides the ſects of Sadducees and Phariſees, there were others that were called Herodians, Gaulonites, and Eſſenians.

Added to theſe religious diſſentions, Pilate moſt grievouſly oppreſſed the Jews. He not only openly deſpiſed their cuſtoms and ceremonies, but he plundered them by every ſpecies of rapine and extortion. And if any oppoſition was made, it was a ſufficient ground for the moſt bloody executions. Such

was the wretched ſtate of Judea, when Chriſt, in his thirtieth year, proclaimed his miſſion. And having wrought innumerable miracles, he was crucified, according to the common account, in the 33d year of his age; though Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes he was a year older, and gives very ſtrong reaſons for that opinion.

I ſhall not enlarge on the particulars of the Meſſiah's life and doctrines, becauſe, as one profeſſing his religion, you will, without doubt, carefully peruſe and inveſtigate thoſe ſacred pages. And I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to a few obſervations on that extraordinary event.

At the time of Chriſt's birth, the expectation of a wonderful Perſonage was not confined to the Jews alone. There was a general rumour throughout the world, that a child was then to be born, who ſhould poſſeſs the empire of the earth. We have ſeen, that wiſemen came from the eaſt on this occaſion, which is confirmed by Joſephus, the celebrated Jewiſh hiſtorian. The Sybilline

Oracles are likewiſe ſaid to have predicted it. And the ſenate of Rome, according to ſome accounts, were very near decreeing, that all the children, who ſhould be brought forth, within a certain period, ſhould be deſtroyed. In purſuance of this idea, Virgil, the celebrated Latin Poet, ſuppoſes this perſon to be the child of Pollio, his patron, and addreſſed a poem to him on that ground. But though I obſerve theſe things, it is from the Old Teſtament we fully find, that that Jeſus who ſuffered under Pilate, was the true and undoubted Meſſiah.

In the firſt inſtance, Eve was told, that in the courſe of time, her ſeed ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head. This promiſe was renewed to Abraham, the father of the Jewiſh nation. Then to Jacob, and afterwards to David, from whom the Meſſiah was to be lineally deſcended. The Jews, of all people, were moſt exact in their genealogies; therefore, when Auguſtus Cæſar iſſued an order, that the names of all the inhabitants of the Roman Empire ſhould be taken, together with their

age, fortune, and ſituation; the Jews obeyed it, by going to the cities reſpectively belonging to the heads of their families. Bethlem was the city of David, to which Joſeph and Mary accordingly repaired; and whilſt they were there, Jeſus was born. Joſeph was ſprung from David, and as the Jews always married one of their own ſtock, Mary was of the ſame lineage. Chriſt's being born of a Virgin, was foretold by Iſaiah, the 7th chapter and 14th verſe. His birth at Bethlem, and the manner of it, by Micah, 5th chapter and 2d verſe. The maſſacre of the children by Herod, is in Jeremiah, 31ſt chapter and 15th verſe. His riding into Jeruſalem upon the colt of an aſs, and Judas betraying him, together with the price of his blood, and the uſe the money ſhould afterwards be put to, is in Zechariah, the 9th chapter and 9th and 10th verſes, and the 11th chapter, 12th and 13th verſes. The 16th Pſalm, in the 8th, 9th, and 10th verſes, foretells his miraculous reſurrection. In the 16th, 17th, and 18th verſes of the 22d

Pſalm, the parting his garments, and caſting lots for his veſture, is deſcribed. And the 69th Pſalm and 21ſt verſe, ſpeaks of his getting gall and vinegar during his ſufferings. Zechariah, in the 13th chapter and 6th verſe, expreſſes his ſhewing his wounds after his reſurrection. And in the 12th chapter and 10th verſe, the ſame Prophet points out the particular grief of the houſe of David. The 53d chapter of Iſaiah, gives a general account of all the ſufferings of the promiſed Meſſiah. And the Paſchal Lamb, inſtituted by Moſes in remembrance of the children of Iſrael, being delivered out of Egypt, was an exact emblem of his death. For of it no bone was broke, and of Jeſus no bone was broken.

Beſides theſe, and ſeveral other prophecies deſcriptive of the Meſſiah, there were ſome that particularly pointed out the time when he was to be expected. It was foretold, that there ſhould not want a Prince in Judah, nor a leader fail from Judah's loins, until he came for whom it was kept and

reſerved, and who was to be the expectation of the Gentiles. Now Herod, under whoſe reign Chriſt was born, was an Idumean, whereas all the princes before him were ſprung from Judah, and therefore the Jews then looked for their Meſſiah. Daniel had alſo propheſied as to the time in which it ſhould happen.—Seventy weeks ſhall be cut out on the Jews and on the holy city, to make an end of ſins, and to expiate the iniquity, and to conſummate the viſion and the Prophet, and to anoint the Moſt Holy.—Seventy weeks are 490 days, and all who have wrote on prophecy agree, that a day ſtands for a year. At the time that Daniel procheſied, the Jews were in captivity at Babylon, and their city utterly deſtroyed. This prophecy could not, therefore, commence until the holy city and the Jewiſh polity were reſtored. For theſe ſeventy weeks were to be cut out on them as a nation; and at the time Daniel wrote, they were no nation, but ſuffering under a captivity, which had been formerly foretold. They were not

again a ſtate till the year 456 or 7 before Chriſt, when Ezra arrived at Jeruſalem. For though there had been decrees before that time for rebuilding the temple and city, yet the laws and polity of the Jews were not reinſtated till Ezra's arrival. And from thence to the death of Chriſt, which was the expiation for ſin, is, according to all accounts, ſo nearly 490 years, that no doubt can remain, but Ezra's return, and the paſſion of the Meſſiah, was the beginning and ending of this prediction.

Nothing in hiſtory is better authenticated, than that all theſe prophecies were known to exiſt for ſome centuries before Chriſt. Nor was this knowledge confined to the Jews, for they were tranſlated into the Greek language, and therefore open to all men of literature throughout the heathen world. And that there was a man, in the time of Tiberius, who called himſelf the Meſſiah, and in whoſe life and death theſe various prophecies were fulfilled, is teſtified by better and

more numerous witneſſes than any event of all antiquity.

The life, the death, and the doctrines of Jeſus being incontrovertible, but one queſtion remains. It is, Whether He was or was not an impoſtor, fulfilling the prophecies by an exact compliance with them? Now you muſt in one moment ſee, that this was totally out of his own power. His father and mother muſt have been impoſtors as to his birth. Herod muſt have been in the plot, in maſſacring the children. Judas in betraying him and hanging himſelf. The High-Prieſt and Sanhedrim in getting him executed. The ſoldiers in giving him gall and vinegar, and in parting his garments, and caſting lots for his veſture. In ſhort, multitudes who hated him, muſt have been in league with him; for it was by the acts of his moſt cruel enemies, that moſt of the prophecies were fulfilled. Jeſus himſelf declared, that He ſhould riſe the third day. And as the High-Prieſt and others ſealed up the ſepulchre, and ſet a guard of ſoldiers over it,

how could the body be removed, without a miracle, or their connivance? It is indeed ſaid, that the ſoldiers fell aſleep, and the diſciples came and ſtole it. But ſurely this muſt appear to deſerve little credit, after the avowed pains taken to prevent the accompliſhment of this ſhort and well known prophecy. Jeſus alſo foretold, that the veil of the temple, which, inſtead of a door, concealed at times the ſacred implements of worſhip, ſhould be rent in twain, which accordingly happened. And Joſephus not only confirms this, but likewiſe adds, that on the day of his crucifixion, a ſudden darkneſs and earthquake took place. In Euſebius Pamphilius's eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, who wrote about the time of Conſtantine the Great, it is alſo ſaid, that Pilate tranſmitted ſo wonderful an account of Chriſt to Tiberius, that that Emperor was on the point of having him decreed a Roman deity; being only prevented, by what was called the preſumption of the Chriſtians, in calling him the ſon of God, before the ſenate of Rome had decreed it.

Let us now briefly enquire what were the doctrines taught by the Meſſiah? And if it was even poſſible that he was an impoſtor, what could have been his object? He preached an all ſeeing God, whom we ſhould love and obey; and that we ſhould do unto our neighbour, as we would our neighbour ſhould do unto us. He preached a total diſregard of this tranſitory world; and that the only purſuit worthy of a wiſe man was futurity. The poor, not the rich, were particularly attended to; and inſtead of attempting to obtain either wealth or honours, he offended all thoſe who had the power to beſtow them. He taught that forgiveneſs of injuries, was one of the moſt acceptable branches of our duty. And in his own ſufferings, he added example to his precepts—praying for thoſe who were leading him to death—and weeping for the deſtruction which he foreſaw was to fall on Jeruſalem. Had Jeſus thought proper to have aſſumed the title of King, you will ſee, from what follows, that he would ſoon have been at the head of a very power-

ful army. But in order to prove and eſtabliſh, that he was indeed the promiſed Mediator, and that his deſign was to lead men to Eternal life.—He lived in humility—was a man of ſufferings and ſorrow—And, to crown all, he ſealed his ſincerity and miſſion with his blood.

Why the great body of the Jews diſbelieved, is at firſt ſight wonderful. But when we conſider their then ſtate, that wonder will be no more. They were, at this time, in general, a moſt corrupt and profligate people. And as is the caſe with every wicked individual, they had no idea of any happineſs but what this world was to beſtow. All their prophets are full of two comings of the Meſſiah. The one a ſtate of ſuffering and humiliation—the other, a ſtate of the higheſt exaltation, when Judea is to become the greateſt country of the earth. Now the Jews, being entirely taken up with worldly proſpects, conſtrued the prophets only as to this ſtate of proſperity. So humble a man as Jeſus, the ſon of a Carpenter, therefore,

offended their pride. And as He taught only the neceſſity of virtue, to be entitled hereafter to his kingdom, without making any effort for the preſent to reſtore the Jewiſh power, it was contrary to all their expectations. They therefore ſlew him. And thus in the very moment that they denied and crucified Jeſus, they fulfilled ſome of thoſe prophecies, which fully proved him to be the promiſed Meſſiah.

SECOND LETTER.

ABOUT the year 140, Demetrius Nicator was ſeated on the throne of Syria. His vices and cruelties rendered him odious to his ſubjects, and Antiochus Theos, the infant ſon of Alexander Balas, being ſet up by Tryphon, a Syrian general, Demetrius was depoſed. But Tryphon's object was to aggran-

dize himſelf, and diſpatching the young Antiochus, he uſurped the Syrian diadem.

Demetrius Nicator, when driven from Syria, was favourably received by the poſterity of the Macedonians, who had ſettled in Perſia and Bactria. And though theſe countries had been ſubjected by the Parthians, he proceeded to levy forces for the recovery of the Syrian crown. But Mithridates, the monarch of Parthia, ſoon after took him priſoner; treating him, however, in a manner ſuitable to his rank, and beſtowing on him one of his daughters in marriage.

Cleopatra, who was before this the wife of Nicator, on hearing of his captivity and new marriage, became the queen of Antiochus Sidetes, the brother of Nicator, and who now aſſumed the title of King of Syria. By him Tryphon was driven from the throne, though what became of him is uncertain; and Sidetes then marched againſt the Parthians. The Aſſyrians and Babylonians immediately flocked to his ſtandards; and proving ſucceſsful in many engagements, moſt of

thoſe countries which had formerly been ſubject to Syria, were recovered. But Phrahates, who had ſucceeded to the Parthian throne, by his prudent management, gave a new turn to affairs; cutting off Antiochus with all his forces, whilſt they thought themſelves ſecure in thoſe quarters which they had choſen for the winter. The conſequence of which was, that all that had been loſt was again united to the Parthian empire.

A little before this ſucceſs againſt Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius Nicator had been ſet at liberty, that he might create a diverſion by reclaiming the crown of Syria; and now, by the death of his brother, he was reinſtated in the regal power. At this time Egypt was diſturbed by domeſtic diſſentions, in which Nicator took part againſt Ptolemy Phyſcon. Phyſcon, however, proving victorious, revenged himſelf by ſetting up one Alexander Zebina, who pretended to be the ſon of Alexander Balas, as the true king of Syria. And Nicator, who had again become odious, being able to make little or no re-

ſiſtance, was, in a ſhort time, deprived both of his dominions and his life.

Cleopatra, who had been the wife of Nicator and Sidetes, was, at this period, miſtreſs of a conſiderable territory. She, therefore, proclaimed Seleucus, her eldeſt ſon by Nicator, as the ſucceſſor of his father. This prince, however, claiming more power than his inhuman mother was diſpoſed to allow him, ſhe ſlew him with her own hand, transferring the regal dignity to his full brother Antiochus Grypus. Grypus then took the field againſt Alexander Zebina. But the latter, by his correct conduct, had ſo ingratiated himſelf with moſt of the Syrians, that no progreſs was at firſt made againſt him. At length, Ptolemy Phyſcon, king of Egypt, quarrelled with Zebina; and giving a daughter to Grypus in marriage, ſo effectual a change took place, that Alexander was defeated and ſlain.

Antiochus Grypus was now become odious to his mother, for the ſame reaſons that cauſed the death of Seleucus. She therefore

attempted to poiſon him, but being detected, ſhe was forced to end her days by the mixture ſhe had herſelf prepared. For ſome years Grypus peaceably poſſeſſed the regal dignity, till at length his half-brother, Antiochus Cyzicenus attempted to dethrone him. This conteſt being attended with various ſucceſs, they at length agreed to a diviſion of the Syrian dominions. By it, Cyzicenus got Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, making Damaſcus the ſeat of government. The reſt belonged to Grypus, who continued Antioch as his capital. And both immediately abandoned themſelves to the moſt vicious and effeminate enjoyments, during which the Jews wreſted ſeveral places from theſe weak and inſignificant monarchs.

But peace did not long continue between theſe voluptuous brothers. And in the civil war that followed, ſeveral of their principal cities, deſpiſing the conduct of both, became independent under pretty princes of their own election. Grypus was at length ſlain by one of his ſubjects, on which Seleucus, the

eldeſt of five ſons whom he had left behind him, took poſſeſſion of his ſceptre. Cyzicenus did not long ſurvive his competitor Grypus, when his crown devolved on his ſon Antiochus Euſebes. Between him and Seleucus the war was carried on with freſh vigour. And the latter was in a ſhort time defeated and ſlain by his more ſucceſsful opponent.

This, however, by no means concluded this deſtructive civil war. Antiochus and Philip, the two next brothers of Seleucus, and who were twins, put themſelves at the head of his forces. But Antiochus almoſt immediately loſing his life, the ſole authority veſted in Philip. He proved ſucceſsful againſt Euſebes, driving him out of the Syrian territories, and obliging him to ſeek for ſhelter amongſt the Parthians.

Whilſt the conteſt laſted with Euſebes, Demetrius Eucheres, the fourth ſon of Grypus, and brother to Philip, had ſeized on Damaſcus, and its territories. Philip, therefore, turned his arms againſt him. In

this he proved alſo victorious. And in a ſhort time after his brother Demetrius died in captivity.

The return of Euſebes from Parthia created new diſturbances; during which, Antiochus Dionyſius, the fifth ſon of Grypus, ſeized on Damaſcus. Some time after he fell in battle with the Arabs. But the conteſt continuing between Euſebes and Philip, the Syrians reſolved to obtain domeſtic peace by abandoning both, and chooſing a powerful King who was able to protect them. They, therefore, ſolicited Tigranes, King of Armenia, to accept their crown. This he complied with, and we hear no more of Philip or his competitor. Selene, the wife of Euſebes, however, retained a part of Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, giving a ſuitable education to her ſons Antiochus Aſiaticus, and Seleucus Cybioſactes. But fooliſhly ſeeking to add to her territories, without the means of ſucceſs, ſhe was made a priſoner, and put to death by order of Tigranes.

For fourteen years Tigranes governed Syria,

by a Lieutenant, till he was ſo hard preſſed by the Romans, as to recall all his forces from that country. Antiochus Aſiaticus thereupon aſſumed the regal government; which he exerciſed for about four years. Pompey then laid claim to Syria, in right of his conquering Tigranes; and Aſiaticus being totally unable to contend with the Romans, was obliged to relinquiſh his pretenſions. The conſequence of which was, that Syria became a province to Rome, 57 years before the Chriſtian Æra.

The next kingdom I ſhall treat of is that of Pergamus.—In the year 140 Attalus the 2d poſſeſſed its ſceptre. In the year 138, he was ſucceeded by his nephew of the ſame name, who was the ſon of Eumenes, the elder brother of Attalus the 2d, but had been ſet aſide on account of his minority. And his uncle had the generoſity to leave the crown to him, though he himſelf had male iſſue at his death.

This preference was extremely unfortunate

for the Pergameans. Attalus the 3d became a moſt deteſtable monſter, rather than a man, ſacrificing his neareſt relations, and many of the wiſeſt and beſt of his ſubjects. To this rage for blood a melancholy ſtate of mind ſucceeded, in which he thought himſelf haunted by thoſe whom he had cauſed to be unjuſtly ſlaughtered; and he ſequeſtered himſelf from all ſociety. But even in ſolitude he found means to exerciſe his horrid diſpoſitions, by raiſing poiſonous plants, of which he prepared potions for ſuch as he choſe to deſtroy. From this employment he paſſed to working at a forge, with the intention of raiſing a brazen ſtatue to his mother. A fever was however the conſequence, which in the year 133 cut ſhort the days of this abominable monſter.

By his laſt will, all his goods were bequeathed to the Republic of Rome. This being conſtrued by the Romans to include the kingdom of Pergamus, they declared it a province, by the name of Aſia-Proper. But Ariſtonicus, half-brother to Attalus, did not

quietly ſubmit to this injuſtice; and he was ſo ſucceſsful in his firſt efforts, as to make himſelf maſter of the whole kingdom. He was, however, unworthy of Royalty, for inſtead of ſecuring his territories, he abandoned himſelf to all kinds of diſſipation, which ended in his being defeated and taken priſoner. Notwithſtanding this the Pergameans, for ſome time, defended their ſtrongeſt fortreſſes; till at length, in the year 129, they were entirely ſubdued. By which means the greateſt part of Aſia-Minor was annexed to the Roman empire.

Of the two Armenias, there is nothing remarkable till the reign of Tigranes, ſirnamed the Great. He was a priſoner in Parthia, when, by the death of his father in the year 95, he became entitled to the crown of Armenia-Major; though he was obliged to part with ſome of his territories, in order to procure his liberty. He then connected himſelf with Mithridates Eupator, King of Pontus, by marrying his daughter. And he ſoon

after began to diſplay that enterpriſing diſpoſition for which he became ſo remarkable.

Cappadocia was the firſt object of his ambition, from whence he drove Ariobarzanes its king, and made himſelf maſter of his dominions. Syria ſoon after voluntarily put itſelf under his government. Armenia-Minor, Aſſyria, Meſopotamia, and ſeveral of the countries adjacent to them, likewiſe ſubmitted to his arms. He alſo regained what the Parthians had extorted from him when their priſoner. Elated by ſuch vaſt ſucceſſes, he aſſumed the title of King of Kings. And a number of petty princes, who acknowledged themſelves his tributaries, were employed as ſervants by this haughty monarch.

Mithridates, his father-in-law, having been engaged in a war with Rome, was driven from his dominions, and forced to take ſhelter in Armenia. On this the Roman Proconſul, Lucullus, demanded the King of Pontus from Tigranes, but the latter poſitively refuſed to deliver him up. And he, at the ſame time, put the prince of the Gordians,

(a people he had ſubjected) together with his family, to death, for having entered into a private correſpondence with the Romans.

Tigranes knew that a war with Rome was now become inevitable. He therefore ſent Mithridates into Pontus to raiſe forces in that quarter; at the ſame time that he himſelf took the field againſt Lucullus. His forces were far ſuperior in number to the Romans; but the latter defeated him in his firſt engagement. Though joined by Mithridates, he was equally unfortunate in another action that took place. A favourable change happened on Pompey being appointed in the room of Lucullus. It was however a very temporary reſpite; Tigranes being, in a ſhort time, obliged to throw himſelf on the clemency of the Roman commander. Pompey then allowed him to retain Armenia-Major, with a part of Meſopotamia, as a kingdom tributary to Rome. At the ſame time obliging him to pay a large ſum of money to atone for the war he had engaged in.

And Armenia-Minor from this time had its diſtinct princes, who held it in ſubjection to the Roman empire.

In the year 140 Mithridates the 6th reigned over the kingdom of Pontus. He became the ally of Rome, and when other neighbouring ſtates ſided with Ariſtonicus, he remained faithful to that engagement; for which he was rewarded with a part of the Pergamean territories.

In the year 124 Mithridates the 7th ſucceeded to the crown of Pontus. He was then only 13 years of age, yet he already gave ſigns of a great military capacity; but a cruel diſpoſition was likewiſe apparent. When he attained to manhood, he began with attacking Paphlagonia, though it had been before declared a free ſtate by the Romans. This was conſidered as hoſtile to that republic, who therefore ſent ambaſſadors to Pontus. Mithridates, however, not only treated them with contempt, but ſoon after made himſelf maſter of Galatia, which was alſo under the protection of Rome.

Ariarathes, the cotemporary king of Cappadocia, had married the ſiſter of Mithridates. But no tie could ſtop his ambitious purpoſes; for caſting his eyes on this country for one of his own ſons, he procured the murder of Ariarathes. He then moſt treacherouſly ſlew the nephew, who was the next ſucceſſor. And another nephew, having in vain attempted to gain the crown, died of grief, with whom the regal line of Cappadocia became extinct.

The infamous Mithridates now thought he had ſecured his purpoſe. But Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who was at enmity with him, gave him freſh trouble. This he did, by ſetting up a young man of parts and addreſs, as the ſon of Ariarathes; at the ſame time ſending him to Rome to ſolicit the aid of that republic. Though Mithridates had ſo lately inſulted the Roman ambaſſadors, he now thought proper to ſolicit them againſt this impoſtor. But he was no farther ſucceſsful, than that the republic declared Cap-

padocia a free ſtate, under their protection. And L. Cornelius Sylla was diſpatched into Aſia, with orders to ſupport the election of whoever they ſhould chooſe to reign over them.

The Cappadocians accordingly raiſed one of their nobility, named Ariobarzanes, to the vacant throne. But Sylla was ſcarcely retired, when Mithridates drove Ariobarzanes from his new elevation, and placed his own ſon, Ariarathes, in his ſtead. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, dying about the ſame time, the king of Pontus alſo forced his ſucceſſor to abandon the ſceptre, which was then given to Chreſtus, the brother of Mithridates. The Romans were ſo irritated at this, that orders were ſent to all their forces and allies in Aſia to reinſtate the depoſed kings. And Mithridates not thinking himſelf ſufficiently prepared, thought proper to avert this attack, by withdrawing his ſon and brother from their new dignities. But the Romans in their turn reſolved on hoſtilities, deſiring the re-eſtabliſhed kings to enter the territo-

ries of Mithridates. And after a few frivolous negotiations, war was actually declared.

Mithridates was joined by almoſt all the Aſiatic princes, who began to perceive the ſettled and progreſſive plan of conqueſt purſued by Rome. Caſſius, who had the chief power in Aſia on the part of the Romans, therefore found his exertions in vain. Mithridates was every where ſucceſsful; till at length he made himſelf maſter of all the Roman cities and fortreſſes throughout Aſia. At the ſame time poſſeſſing himſelf of immenſe treaſures in conſequence of his repeated victories.

There were at this time vaſt numbers of Romans and Italians who had ſettled in Aſia. They were of courſe odious to the Aſiatics, who conſidered them as uſurpers on their rights. Mithridates, who was naturally cruel, likewiſe knew they muſt be ſecret enemies to him. He therefore reſolved on their utter extirpation, for which purpoſe private orders were given, to the different governors, to begin a general maſſacre on an

appointed day, without reſpect to age or ſex. And at the ſame time an edict was iſſued, puniſhing thoſe who ſhould conceal, and rewarding ſuch as ſhould diſcover and betray them. Theſe inhuman directions were too well obeyed, 150,000 perſons periſhing on this occaſion. And their wealth being confiſcated, added greatly to the treaſures already amaſſed by Mithridates.

This fatal cataſtrophe happened in the year 88; ſoon after which, Mithridates having no enemies to oppoſe him in Aſia, reſolved to attack the iſland of Rhodes, where L. Caſſius had retired. He was however defeated at ſea; and a ſecond attempt being equally unſucceſsful, Mithridates returned to Pergamus, which he had made the ſeat of his empire.

Not contented with having expelled the Romans out of Aſia, Mithridates now ſent a powerful army into Europe, under the command of his general Archelaus. It was followed by other forces, till in a ſhort time Greece, Macedon, Thrace, and moſt of the

iſlands in the Archipelago, acknowledged Mithridates for their maſter. And that conqueror elated with ſuch victories, talked of invading Italy itſelf.

But it was entirely owing to the civil diſſentions, which at that time diſtracted Rome, that ſuch loſſes were ſuſtained by that republic. And rouſed by the approach of danger, Sylla was diſpatched into Greece with a conſiderable army. L. Lucullus was appointed by him to the command of the fleet which was to co-operate. This produced a very ſpeedy change in the Roman affairs. Sylla began with defeating Archelaus at Chæronea. Other victories followed with the utmoſt rapidity, in which no quarter was given, on account of the maſſacre in Aſia. And having regained all that had been loſt in Europe, he prepared to paſs over into Aſia-Minor.

But Sylla's enemies at Rome prevailed on the Senate, already jealous of his greatneſs, to ſend Valerius Flaccus, one of the Conſuls, to command in Aſia. As he knew nothing of war, C. Fimbria, an excellent ſoldier, was

to ſerve under, and in fact to govern him. This ſituation, however, ſoon produced a quarrel, and Fimbria having put the Conſul to death, took the command upon himſelf, in which the Senate afterwards confirmed him. Such was his ſucceſs, that Mithridates having been forced to abandon Pergamus, took ſhelter in the city of Pritanæ; where he would have fallen into the hands of Fimbria, but that Lucullus refuſed to block up that port with the Roman fleet. By which means Mithridates eſcaped by ſea, before Pritanæ was obliged to ſurrender.

Though Lucullus would not act with Fimbria, who was of the oppoſite faction to Sylla, he ſoon after beat the fleets of Mithridates in two different engagements; which, added to the great loſſes ſuſtained by land, ſo humbled that monarch, that he ſolicited peace from Sylla, and obtained it on the following terms. —That he ſhould relinquiſh all his conqueſts, and confine himſelf to his native dominions. He was alſo to deliver up eighty ſhips, fully equipped, for the ſervice of the Romans,

beſides paying them a very large ſum of money. There were ſome other articles of little conſequence. And in the year 85, thus ended the firſt Mithridatic war.

At this time Marius's party carried every thing at Rome, and Sylla, having tranſported his forces to Aſia, reſolved to ſubdue Fimbria. When the two Roman armies approached each other, the fame of Sylla, however, induced the ſoldiers of Fimbria to deſert to his ſtandards. And Fimbria having attempted, in vain, to get Sylla aſſaſſinated, put an end to his own exiſtence.

Sylla having ſeen peace re-eſtabliſhed in Aſia, left Muræna to command as Prætor; he himſelf repairing to Italy with 40,000 victorious ſoldiers. He was no ſooner gone, than Muræna meditated a renewal of the war with Mithridates. This he eaſily accompliſhed, on which the king of Pontus exerted himſelf in raiſing freſh armies, and equipping a conſiderable fleet. But after many ſtruggles, Muræna, and Lucullus, who was Quæſtor to Sylla, proved victorious; Pontus it-

ſelf being taken from Mithridates. That unfortunate king then took ſhelter in Armenia; the conſequence of which was, the war with Tigranes, which has been already related.

On Pompey's ſucceeding Lucullus, Mithridates, after ſome engagements, ſought an aſylum in the kingdom of Colchis. Thither Pompey purſued him, having firſt made peace with Tigranes, on the terms you have read in my account of Armenia. But Mithridates retreating into Scythia, the Roman General in vain endeavoured to overtake him. And after loſing a number of men in this expedition, he returned to Pontus. He there reduced ſeveral ſtrong places, and poſſeſſed himſelf of immenſe treaſures. After which he marched with the moſt of his forces into the province of Syria.

Mithridates no ſooner knew that Pompey was withdrawn from Pontus, than he privately returned to that country. There he ſecretly raiſed freſh forces, and at length appeared once more at the head of a powerful

army. Several places were retaken by him, and there was ſome little proſpect of retrieving his affairs; but his cruelties in his own family, and amongſt his own people, had ſo eſtranged the affections of his ſoldiers, that they now proclaimed his ſon Pharnaces for their king. This was a ſtroke that Mithridates was not able to bear, and having poiſoned his wives, concubines and children, who were then with him, he put an end to his life. Such was the fate of Mithridates the Great, who had been more fatal to the Romans than any other of their opponents at this period of their empire.

Pharnaces, on the death of his father, immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to Pompey, ſubmitting himſelf to the will of the Romans. The rejoicings in the camp, and afterwards at Rome, on the news of Mithridates's death, were exceſſive; ſo formidable was this enemy eſteemed. As for Pontus, it was turned into a Roman province. Pompey, however, gratified Pharnaces, by giving him the kingdom of Boſphorus.

In the civil war which followed between Cæſar and Pompey, Pharnaces the 2d, who had ſucceeded to the crown of Boſphorus, made himſelf maſter of Pontus. But Cæſar, after ſettling the affairs of Egypt, marched againſt him, and totally defeated him. It was on this occaſion that he gave the conciſe account to the Senate of his ſucceſs, by the words Veni, vidi, vici; I came, I ſaw, I conquered. Pontus was again governed as a province, till after the battle of Philippi, at which time Antony gave its crown to Darius, the ſon of that Pharnaces whom Julius Cæſar had ſubdued. This was a reward for his having ſided with the Triumvirate; and it continued a tributary kingdom till after my preſent Æra.

Arabia, from the wandering ſtate of its inhabitants, though often attacked, was never really ſubdued; but, as yet, there is nothing of conſequence in its hiſtory. Of the other ſtates, which had formerly compoſed the Perſian empire, they were all either in the nature of provinces, or their princes were

tributary to Rome, except what were ſubject to the monarchs of Parthia. We know nothing of the Indians, the Chineſe, or thoſe wild nations that inhabited the North-Eaſt of Aſia, and which were generally known by the name of Scythians, or Tartars. I ſhall therefore conclude this letter with an account of the Parthian ſtate, which, at the death of Chriſt, may be ſaid to be the only power that could contend againſt the Roman arms.

The Parthian empire, at the commencement of this Æra, had Bactrya, Media, Perſia, Elymæa, Babylonia, and Meſopotamia for its component parts. Mithridates, the 1ſt, was then its king, who was diſtinguiſhed for his courage, abilities, and amiable diſpoſitions. And he governed by a code of laws, which are ſaid to have been well calculated for the happineſs of his people.

Phrahates the ſecond was his ſucceſſor, and is only remarkable for ſeveral wars with the Scythians and Syrians. The next king was Artabanus the firſt, who after a very ſhort

reign was followed by Pacorus the firſt. He proved a ſucceſsful prince, regaining whatever had been loſt by his predeceſſors; and entered into an alliance with Rome. His ſucceſſor, Phrahates the third, was murdered by his own children Orodes and Mithridates, who then diſputed for the crown; which ending in the death of Mithridates, Orodes was eſtabliſhed on the throne.

In the year 55 a war broke out, for the firſt time, between the Parthian and the Roman powers. Orodes, by his ambaſſadors to M. Licinius Craſſus, who governed the province of Syria, did all he could to prevent it. But Craſſus, who wantonly began this quarrel, would liſten to no accommodation. He had already plundered Syria, Judea, and the other parts committed to his care; and though he had amaſſed vaſt treaſures, his unbounded avarice was far from being ſatisfied. This was the ſecret ſpring that led him to the invaſion of the Parthians; for that empire was conſidered as full of wealth and riches. And Craſſus ſuppoſing the Roman

arms to be invincible, had already, in imagination, graſped them as his own.

Meſopotamia was firſt attacked by the Romans, and though at the beginning many places fell to them, Surenas, Orodes's general, retook the moſt of them, diſplaying uncommon ſkill and courage. Craſſus then advanced in perſon, and a variety of actions took place, in which the Romans found they had a new kind of enemy to deal with. The Parthians ſerved moſtly on horſeback, uſing bows and arrows, with which they fought equally well advancing or retreating. In the end Craſſus was totally defeated, at a place called Carrhæ, ſoon after which he himſelf loſt his life in attempting to get back to Syria. In this ill-judged expedition 30,000 fell on the part of the Romans, beſides 10,000 being taken priſoners. And Caſſius, the Lieutenant of Craſſus, with great difficulty made good his flight, at the head of a very inconſiderable body of his countrymen.

Surenas gained great applauſe from his repeated victories. This however proved his

ruin, for Orodes, jealous of the eſteem in which he was held by the army, had him put to death. Pacorus, the king's ſon, then took the command, leading his forces into the province of Syria. Though Caſſius was very ill prepared for ſuch a viſit, he exerted himſelf with ſo much vigour, as to force the enemy to retire. A ſecond attempt made by Pacorus proved equally unſucceſsful; after which Caſſius returned to Rome. And from thence nothing material happened, till after the death of Julius Cæſar, who was on the point of ſetting out to revenge the battle of Carrhæ, when he was ſtabbed by Caſſius and the reſt of the conſpirators.

When the Triumvirate eſtabliſhed their power at Rome, by the defeat of the conſpirators, the eaſtern provinces were allotted to Antony. He thereupon ſent Saxa, as his Lieutenant, into Syria. But the Syrians having been grievouſly oppreſſed by the Romans, called the Parthians to their aid, and openly revolted. By this junction, the Roman forces in that quarter were defeated;

on which not only Syria, but Phœnice, and a part of Aſia-Minor, were over-run by the Parthians. They likewiſe plundered Jeruſalem, and placed Antigonus upon the throne of Judea, as has been elſewhere related.

Rouſed by theſe misfortunes, Antony ſent Ventidius as his Lieutenant to Aſia, with a more powerful army. He gave a new complexion to affairs; gaining ſo deciſive a victory over the Parthians, as to force them to abandon all their conqueſts. And this battle took place exactly fourteen years after the defeat of Craſſus at Carrhæ.

Antony, jealous of the ſucceſs of his deputy, ſoon after took the command in perſon, marching into the Parthian provinces; but his conduct of this war was ſo imprudent, that he loſt a great part of his forces. And reaching Syria with the remnant of his army, he ſet out for Egypt to his beloved Cleopatra. From this time Phrahates, who had gained the Parthian crown, by murdering his father Orodes, continued unmoleſted by the Romans; having, during the civil

wars which followed, between Antony and Octavius Cæsar, rather extended than diminished his territories.

Phrahates had added to his parricide, the murder of his brothers, and even a son of his own, besides all others whom he suspected. By these bloody acts he became justly odious, and being driven from his throne, one Tiridates was raised to the diadem. This produced a civil war, in which sometimes one and sometimes the other swayed the sceptre; whilst both endeavoured to obtain the aid of Octavius, now Augustus Cæsar. At length that Emperor entered into a treaty with Phrahates, by which all the prisoners taken at Carrhæ, and all the Roman ensigns, were restored. There were also other engagements as to the future conduct of the Parthians, for the fulfilling of which, four sons of the king were sent as hostages to Rome, together with their wives and children. By these means Phrahates regained the crown, and Parthia was undisturbed by the Romans during my present Æra. It was however dis-

tracted by ſeveral civil diſſentions and conteſts for the crown; the relation of which would be totally uſeleſs in this general view of the world and of mankind.

THIRD LETTER.

PTOLEMY Phyſcon, who had obtained the throne of Egypt by the inhuman means related in my laſt Æra, purſued his bloody courſe. He cut off all who had been his enemies, or whom he ſuppoſed might prove ſo. He likewiſe deſtroyed thoſe to whom he had been moſt obliged for his promotion. His ſoldiers were allowed and encouraged to commit the moſt horrid outrages in Alexandria; and moſt of its inhabitants flying into other countries, their place was ſupplied by ſtrangers. This had however one good effect, as to mankind at large. Alexandria was fa-

mous for the men of literature who reſided there; and by their being thus diſperſed, their knowledge was diffuſed into different quarters of the world.

Phyſcon, by various cruelties, became at length ſo odious, that his ſubjects expelled him, at the ſame time conferring the crown on Cleopatra, his brother's widow, whom he had married, but afterwards divorced. To this he did not tamely ſubmit, and in the end Phyſcon got himſelf reſtored. At his death he bequeathed the kingdom of Cyrene to Apion, his natural ſon. And he left Egypt to his wife Cleopatra, the daughter of that Cleopatra whom he firſt married; at the ſame time ordering her to aſſociate one of the two ſons ſhe had borne him in the government. In obedience to this, Cleopatra honoured her youngeſt ſon Alexander with that appointment. But the people obliged her to revoke it in favour of Lathyrus, the eldeſt, and Alexander was then nominated to the kingdom of Cyprus, that iſland being ſubject to the Egyptian royal family.

Though Cleopatra was obliged, for a ſhort time, to ſubmit to this arrangement, it was not long till ſhe found means to reverſe it, and for ſome time Lathyrus, in vain, attempted to be reſtored; till at length Cleopatra quarrelling with Alexander, and, as it is ſaid, attempting to deſtroy him, was herſelf put to death. Alexander, by the murder of his mother, becoming extremely odious, was ſoon after ſlain, leaving one ſon of his own name behind him; and Lathyrus was now replaced upon the throne of Egypt.

Apion having governed Cyrene for twenty-one years, at his death bequeathed it to the republic of Rome. This he did, that he might ſave it from ſimilar troubles to thoſe which had afflicted Egypt. And the Romans, contenting themſelves with a ſmall tribute for the preſent, left the Cyreneans to their own laws and regulations, which are not however particularly recorded.

In Egypt, Lathyrus died about the year 76, leaving the crown to his daughter Bere-

nice, who thereupon aſſumed the name of Cleopatra. Alexander, the nephew of Lathyrus, had taken ſhelter at Rome, where Sylla was then Dictator; and having obtained his protection, he openly aſſerted his right to the throne of Egypt. In order to prevent the impending civil war, a match was made between him and Cleopatra, whom he baſely murdered in nineteen days after their nuptials. He was, however, ſuffered to reign for fifteen years, when his vices and evil government made his ſubjects expel him; and they at the ſame time beſtowed the vacant diadem on Ptolemy Auletes, who was a natural ſon of Lathyrus. As for Alexander, he fled to Tyre, from whence he ſolicited the Roman aid. But dying before he could obtain it, he bequeathed all his dominions to that republic. By virtue of which, the Romans afterwards ſeized the iſland of Cyprus, though they did not think proper to put in their claim to the kingdom of Egypt.

Ptolemy Auletes had indeed taken the moſt effectual means to ſecure his crown from

their encroachments; having bribed Julius Cæſar and Pompey, who were the then leading men at Rome, with the enormous ſum of 1,162,500 pounds of our money. He however loſt the affections of his own ſubjects, by the exactions he was obliged to make; and, driving him out, they gave the ſovereignty to his daughter Berenice. She firſt married Seleucus Cybioſactes, of the Syrian royal family, and who was the next male heir to the Egyptian, his mother Selene being a daughter of Phyſcon's. But Cybioſactes was ſo deformed both in mind and body, that Berenice, deteſting the connexion, cauſed him to be ſtrangled. After which ſhe united herſelf to one Archelaus, who pretended to be the ſon of Mithridates the Great, king of Pontus, though he was in reality the offſpring of one of his principal officers.

Auletes, on being depoſed, repaired to Rome, carrying with him what money he could; with which, and what he was able to raiſe on the faith of his being reſtored, he

bribed a majority of the Senate. On the other hand, Archelaus and Berenice diſpatched one hundred ambaſſadors to plead their cauſe. On their approach, Auletes cauſed moſt of them to be aſſaſſinated, which not only paſſed with impunity, but the venal Senate ſoon after decreed that Auletes ſhould be reſtored. On this C. Porcius Cato, then a tribune, had the Sybilline oracles conſulted, where it was found, or pretended to be found, that if a depoſed king of Egypt ſhould apply to them for aid, Rome might aſſiſt him, but not with arms.

This was a terrible ſtroke to Auletes. He had, however, ſecured the attachment of Pompey, and a mode was privately ſtruck out that procured his reſtoration. Pompey wrote to Gabinius, a creature of his, who commanded in Aſia, to aſſiſt the Egyptian monarch. He alſo applied to Caius Rabirius Poſthumius, a Roman Knight of immenſe wealth, to advance what money was neceſſary. And, I think, from the uſury Poſthumius took, and the ſums paid to Ga-

binius, that Pompey was to be a ſharer in the ſpoils.

When Auletes arrived in Aſia, Gabinius, who was remarkably avaricious, notwithſtanding Pompey's letter, refuſed to aſſiſt, till 5000 talents were paid down to him. This was borrowed at an enormous intereſt from Poſthumius, who attended in perſon; beſides which, Gabinius was to have as much more if ſucceſsful. This being ſettled, Archelaus was ſoon after defeated and ſlain, by means of the Roman arms.—And Auletes being fully re-eſtabliſhed, Gabinius having left a garriſon in Alexandria, returned to the province of Syria.

Auletes, on his reſtoration, put to death his daughter Berenice, together with vaſt numbers of his ſubjects. Thoſe who were remarkable for their riches were ſure to periſh, that he might poſſeſs himſelf of their treaſures. And the Alexandrians, awed by the Roman garriſon, tamely bore with theſe oppreſſions; though at this very time, the

ſuperſtitious mob tore a Roman ſoldier to pieces for killing a cat, which they deemed ſacred.

Rabirius Poſthumius applying to be repaid, Auletes put him in poſſeſſion of the revenues of the kingdom. This was however only a fineſſe, and the knight finding himſelf in danger of loſing his life by the underhand ſchemes of the king, ſaved himſelf by flight. Added to this diſappointment, Rabirius, on his return to Rome, found himſelf accuſed of aſſiſting Auletes with money to bribe the Senate, beſides ſharing in the 10,000 talents paid to Gabinius. He eſcaped, but Gabinius was baniſhed at the inſtance of Cicero, though he had expended the vaſt ſums he had unjuſtly amaſſed in bribes to venal ſenators.

Auletes dying in the year 31, left two ſons named Ptolemy, and as many daughters, called Cleopatra and Arſinoe. The kingdom was to go to his oldeſt ſon and daughter, who, according to the cuſtom of Egypt, were to intermarry. And the execution of his will he committed to the Roman people,

by whom Pompey was ordered to take the guardianſhip of the children of Auletes.

But Ptolemy, inſtead of marrying Cleopatra his ſiſter, obliged her to fly. She then raiſed a powerful army, which was oppoſed by another equally formidable, both encamping in the neighbourhood of Peluſium. Whilſt they remained in this ſituation, Pompey having loſt the battle of Pharſalia, arrived off the Egyptian coaſt. And not doubting of ſhelter from the ſon of Auletes, he applied to Ptolemy, but was baſely murdered by the advice of that young king's miniſters. Almoſt immediately after this vile tranſaction, Julius Cæſar, who was in purſuit of his rival, arrived in Alexandria; where, being detained by contrary winds, he, in the name of the Roman people, entered into an adjuſtment of the differences which ſubſiſted between Ptolemy and his ſiſter Cleopatra.

Alexandria was in the poſſeſſion of Ptole-

my, and Cleopatra not daring to enter that city openly, got herſelf conveyed to it on board a veſſel by night. A faithful ſlave then carried her in a ſack to Julius Cæſar's reſidence, moſt agreeably ſurprizing that conqueror with a viſit from the moſt charming woman he had ever beheld. She was then only eighteen, and, as ſhe intended, ſhe ſecured Cæſar in her intereſt by the impreſſion ſhe made on his heart; nor did ſhe refuſe him any favours that were in her power to beſtow.

There were ſome tumults raiſed in Alexandria on account of the interference of Cæſar. They, however, appeared to be not only pacified, but the people were greatly rejoiced at a declaration which was now made, that Ptolemy and Cleopatra ſhould be married, and reign jointly according to the will of their father. And Cæſar alſo allotted Cyprus, which had been for ſome time poſſeſſed by the Romans, to the youngeſt Ptolemy and his ſiſter Arſinoe.

But this arrangement was entirely againſt

the inclinations of Plothinus, the favourite miniſter of Ptolemy. He had been extremely active in the baniſhment of Cleopatra, and perhaps with juſtice dreaded her having any ſhare in the adminiſtration. By his ſchemes he therefore raiſed up jealouſies in the mind of his maſter, probably not omitting the connexion that had taken place between Cæſar and Cleopatra. The army of the latter ſeems to have been before this diſbanded, as Achillas, who commanded the forces of Ptolemy, inveſted Alexandria without oppoſition. Ptolemy, however, denied that it was with his approbation, and Cæſar being led to believe that he would raiſe the ſiege, was induced to ſet him at liberty. But in this he proved miſtaken, for the exertions of the Egyptians from that moment became more vigorous than ever.

Cæſar had ſeldom been in ſo precarious a ſituation; the Roman forces which were with him being very few in number. He, however, by his judicious conduct on the outſet of the buſineſs, made up for their deficiency.

Having ſtrongly fortified himſelf, ſo as to prevent all ſurpriſe, he diſpatched meſſengers by ſea into Aſia, to his Generals and Governors in that quarter, ordering them to haſten to his relief. And when the enemy were almoſt on the point of taking Alexandria, thoſe forces appeared on the frontiers of Egypt.

When this intelligence was brought to Ptolemy, he, from neceſſity, broke up the ſiege, in order to oppoſe them. The intrepid Cæſar thereupon left the city, by his judicious manœuvres accompliſhing a junction with his friends before an engagement took place. The conſequence of which was, the defeat and death of Ptolemy.

The crown, by this victory, was firmly ſettled on the head of Cleopatra; who was now to marry her ſurviving brother, then only eleven years old. For the preſent, however, ſhe yielded herſelf up to the careſſes of Cæſar, who returned to Alexandria, abandoning himſelf to all manner of pleaſures. And when, at length, he was forced from Egypt on ſtate affairs, he left a conſiderable

body of Romans behind him, for the protection of his miſtreſs.

The infamous, though charming Cleopatra, ſecured the whole power by poiſoning her brother, as ſoon as he attained his fourteenth year. The next thing memorable in her hiſtory, was her ſailing from Egypt to Cilicia, to form an alliance with Antony, after the battle of Philippi. Antony was then at Tarſus, on the river Cydnus, to which place Cleopatra was conveyed in a magnificent galley that beggared deſcription. Her attendants, and every thing about her, was ſumptuous beyond expreſſion; but her own Perſon and charms were ſuperior to all. And the amorous Antony was ſo infatuated by her allurements, that ſhe from thenceforth retained the moſt abſolute dominion over him, even to the lateſt hour of his life.

Having returned to Alexandria, ſhe was ſoon followed by Antony, who neglecting all his affairs, gave himſelf up to Cleopatra and the moſt exceſſive round of pleaſures. At length neceſſity forced him to Rome, where,

from political motives, he married the Siſter of Octavius Cæſar. But his affections were all along with Cleopatra; and having very ſoon tired of his virtuous wife, he again repaired to Alexandria.

To atone for his ſhort neglect of Cleopatra, Antony now added the kingdoms of Cyrene, Cyprus, Cœle Syria, Ituræa, Phœnicia, and a part of Arabia Petræa to her dominions, beſides a ſmall diſtrict which he took from Herod, king of Judea. After this he went againſt Artabazus, king of Armenia, and having conquered him, he returned to Egypt in triumph. He then proclaimed Cæſarion, whom Cleopatra had borne to Julius Cæſar, king of Cyprus and Egypt, in conjunction with his mother; at the ſame time providing for two ſons and a daughter, which ſhe had to himſelf. To Alexander, the eldeſt ſon, he gave Armenia, and as ſoon as Parthia, and the other eaſtern countries, from the Euphrates to India, were ſubdued, they were alſo to be added. Ptolemy Philadelphus, the ſecond ſon, was to have all Aſia-Minor,

Both of theſe Princes were ſtiled King of Kings; and Cleopatra, his daughter, was to ſucceed to Cyrene and Lybia. Having thus adjuſted their children's portions, Cleopatra and Antony aſſumed the dreſs and characters of Iſis and Oſiris; at the ſame time receiving ſuch divine honours as were paid by the Egyptians to thoſe Deities.

Octavius Cæſar had, without doubt, great and juſt cauſe of complaint againſt Antony on account of his treatment of his ſiſter. The ambition of being ſole maſter of the world, however, ſtill more ſtrongly prompted him to war. This becoming at length inevitable, Antony was ſo far rouſed as to quit Alexandria, at the ſame time ordering the neceſſary levies. But notwithſtanding the advice of his beſt friends, he made Cleopatra the companion of this expedition. As was foreſeen, inſtead of exerting himſelf to oppoſe his powerful antagoniſt, he, in the midſt of danger, attended only to pleaſure and Cleopatra. And at the deciſive battle of Actium, the Egyptian queen flying with her ſquadron,

Antony, regardleſs of every thing, accompanied her, leaving his fleets and armies without a leader. This, for a ſhort time, oppreſſed him with grief, yet ſuch was the power of Cleopatra, that he very ſoon gave himſelf up to his uſual mode of life; continuing at Alexandria, without even ſtruggling for empire, againſt the victorious Cæſar.

When Octavius arrived in Egypt with a powerful army, and actually inveſted the city of Alexandria, the warlike ſpirit of Antony once more reviving, he made a moſt gallant defence. During it he, however, found out that ſome private negociations had been carried on between Octavius and Cleopatra. In the rage which this occaſioned, Antony would have killed her, had ſhe not ſaved herſelf in a ſort of monument, which ſhe had before erected, and which was inacceſſible. A reconciliation ſoon took place, but falling out again, in order to avoid his reſentment, ſhe cauſed it to be reported that ſhe was no more. This was fatal to Antony, for he no ſooner heard it, than he fell on his ſword. The wound,

though mortal, did not cauſe immediate death, and Cleopatra ſending to him that ſhe was living, he ſuffered it to be dreſſed. He was then brought to the foot of the monument, and was drawn up on the outſide by ropes, which Cleopatra and her attendants let down for that purpoſe; ſoon after which he expired in the arms of her to whom he had ſacrificed every other object.

Cleopatra had carried all her riches into this monument, and fearful of being ſurpriſed, the door was not allowed to be opened. Cæſar, however, having got poſſeſſion of the city, contrived to get both her and her wealth into his power. She then attempted to allure him by thoſe charms which to Antony proved ſo fatal. But finding they had no effect, and that all her negociations for a reſtoration to the regal power were in vain, ſhe reſolved on death. To this ſhe was more ſtrongly prompted, by the dread of being led in triumph to Rome, which was really the deſign of Cæſar; by whoſe orders, the utmoſt care was taken that no means of

death ſhould reach her. Some Aſps, whoſe bite was mortal, were, however, conveyed in a baſket of figs without being diſcovered. And, according to her laſt requeſt, ſhe was buried in the tomb with Antony.

Cleopatra was remarkable for her knowledge of many languages, and on one occaſion ſhe ſhewed her regard for literature. When Julius Cæſar was beſieged in Alexandria, a great part of its famous library was deſtroyed. This ſhe afterwards repaired, and placed in it 200,000 volumes, which Antony found in Pergamus, and beſtowed to this his favourite queen. To the beauties and graces of her face and perſon, which, by every account, were moſt extraordinary, was added a very great capacity. But with all theſe qualifications ſhe was vicious in the extreme; and by a total ſubverſion of thoſe bounties which nature had beſtowed, ſhe was the cauſe of miſery to many, and finally brought about her own deſtruction.

Cleopatra died about nine years before the birth of Chriſt, and with her ended the reign

of the race of Ptolemy Lagus, Egypt from thenceforth becoming a Roman province. Her ſon Cæſarion was put to death by order of Octavius, who was only the nephew of Julius Cæſar, and therefore feared the pretenſions of his ſon. But Cleopatra's children by Antony were treated with great kindneſs, as were alſo the friends and attendants of that unfortunate queen.

Ethiopia is ſcarcely mentioned in hiſtory from the times of Alexander the Great to thoſe of Auguſtus. In that of the latter, Candace, a queen of this country, ventured to attack a Roman army that was in Egypt; but ſhe was in a ſhort time compelled to ſolicit a peace, which ſhe obtained. And as to the reſt of the African countries, there is nothing that will not fall in with the Roman hiſtory.

In Europe we find a number of new nations ariſing, who went by the general appellation of Gauls and Germans. But many of their petty ſtates were conquered by Julius Cæſar; and the Roman arms were likewiſe

extended to the iſland of Great-Britain, where they made a ſlight impreſſion; and of which I ſhall give a more particular account in the hiſtory of Rome. The inhabitants of Gaul and Britain were of Celtic origin, or ſprung from ſome of the Northern tribes, particularly called Celtes; whilſt the Germans were from the Umbri or Teutones. But in moſt inſtances their manners and religion were the ſame. The Gauls, indeed, had made a greater progreſs in the line of civilization than any of the others, having a number of cities; whereas the Britons had only a few villages, and the Germans had hardly any buildings whatſoever. The beſt cultivated of them, were, however, not many degrees from a ſtate of nature. And each of theſe countries had a multitude of tribes, or ſmall ſtates, which had their own diſtinct appellations. Some being ſubject to petty Princes, and others being perfectly free, electing leaders as occaſion required, to command them.

But notwithſtanding theſe diſtinctions

amongſt them, they all worſhipped the ſupreme Deity, under the Symbol of an Oak, which made them hold both it and its fruit in the higheſt veneration. Their worſhip of almoſt every kind, was in groves of thoſe trees. And they had inferior Deities, of whom Mars or Odin was particularly honoured under the ſymbol of a ſword. Human ſacrifices were offered by them, and they delighted in Auguries and other ſuperſtitions. Their prieſts were called Druids, to whom they paid the utmoſt deference, nothing being done, either civil or military, in any ſtate, without their concurrence; for if the Druids excommunicated any perſon, he could not be admitted to their worſhip or ſacrifices; all perſons were forbid to aſſociate with him, and he was without the protection of the laws. Theſe prieſts taught the immortality of the ſoul and the neceſſity of virtue; but then, their notions of right and wrong, were extremely undefined, and tinctured with barbarity; and by claiming the power of future rewards and puniſhments,

they more ſtrongly bound their followers to obedience. They had alſo Druideſſes, who aſſiſted in the ceremonies of religion, and were of three diſtinct orders. The firſt was compoſed of virgins: the ſecond of married women, who allowed a connexion with their huſbands but once in every year: the third were a kind of ſervants to the other two, but not under the ſame reſtrictions. Beſides theſe, they had Bards, who celebrated their heroes, and recorded their victories, in ſuch rude ſongs as they were capable of compoſing; and this claſs of men were held in the higheſt eſtimation.

The diſputes which aroſe between the petty ſtates or tribes of theſe countries, were decided by arms. Even matters of property between individuals, were adjuſted by ſingle combat. Notwithſtanding the ſuperior diſcipline of the Romans, their valour and love of liberty, led them to wonderful ſtruggles; and after being ſubdued, they frequently revolted. Agriculture was for a long time deſpiſed, fiſhing and hunting being their only

mode of ſuſtenance. The vices that preponderated, were drunkenneſs and a deſire of revenge. Their beſt qualities were hoſpitality, a love of juſtice, and fidelity to their engagements. And their women were remarkable for their chaſtity, often preferring death to the loſs of it, or of their liberty.

Beſides the conqueſts in Britain, Gaul, and Germany, the petty Princes of Thrace were obliged to yield to the Roman arms, before the expiration of my preſent æra. So were all the iſlands of the Mediterranean ſeas; but ſome were allowed their own peculiar laws and privileges; and Rhodes was very particularly favoured. Crete was reduced into a Roman province about the year 68, and Cyprus was taken from the family of Ptolemy Lagus, under the pretence of a will, as I have before related. Of the other countries of the world, I know nothing in this place to be related, except of Rome, to which I ſhall proceed in the enſuing letter.

FOURTH LETTER.

AFTER the deſtruction of Carthage and Corinth, the principal diſturbances that for ſome time effected Rome, were in Spain and Ciſalpine Gaul. In the year 137, Appius Claudius Pulcher ſlew 5000 Gauls in battle. For this he demanded a triumph, which was refuſed on account of ſome ill ſucceſs that had preceded it. But Pulcher conceiving himſelf ill uſed, as it had been juſt before decreed, that no man ſhould obtain a triumph unleſs 5000 of the enemy were ſlain, reſolved to take that by force which was refuſed to his ſolicitation. He therefore entered Rome in triumph, at the head of his victorious forces, no one daring to oppoſe him, though both ſenate and people had concurred in denying him that honour. This conduct of Pulcher was without a precedent in the annals of the republic; and ſtrongly points

out the ſuperiority which the ſoldier was already acquiring over the undiſciplined citizens of Rome.

In Spain, Viriathus, King of the Luſitanians, was for a long time formidable againſt the Romans; till being at length drawn into an inſidious peace, his affairs were conſiderably worſe at an unexpected renewal of the war; and it ended in his death and the ſubjection of his country.

In another part of Spain, the Numantines gained great advantages, forcing the Roman general to conclude a peace, highly honourable to them. But the ſenate and people of Rome, paying no regard to the treaty, ordered a renewal of the war. In it they were for ſome years unſucceſsful, till at length they ſent the ſecond Scipio Africanus to command in that quarter. His valour and judicious conduct had its uſual effect, Spain being again reduced to ſubjection. And under Scipio, Marius, then a young man, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

This was about the year 133, at which time Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, was very conſpicuous at Rome. Graceful in his perſon and manners, with great abilities and a powerful elocution, he became ſo great a favourite with the people, that they raiſed him to the Tribuneſhip. By propoſing a revival of the Agrarian law, he ſtill added to his popularity. For the ſenators had not only purchaſed much more land than they ought, but they had likewiſe poſſeſſed themſelves of great tracts of conquered territories, to which they had no title whatever.

This conduct of Gracchus, was as hateful to the Patricians as it was grateful to the bulk of the community. Marcus Octavius Cæcina, another tribune, was therefore bribed to cry veto as often as Gracchus ſhould propoſe the revival of the obnoxious law. Gracchus then had recourſe to another privilege of a tribune, which was that of ſuſpending the authority of every Roman magiſtrate. When this was done, the aſſembled people had a right to act without controul.

But the vaſes that held the ballots being removed by the underhand means of the ſenators, the ſenſe of the meeting could not be collected. A tumult was the conſequence, which was appeaſed by two ſenators propoſing, that the revival of the law ſhould be moved in the ſenate. That body however rejecting it, Gracchus propoſed to the people, that either he or Cæſina ſhould give up their office; on which the latter was compelled to reſign. And the Agrarian law being then renewed, Gracchus himſelf, with Appius Claudius, his father in law, and Caius Gracchus were appointed to decide on the breaches of it. The wealth of Attalus, King of Pergamus, not long after this arriving at Rome, Gracchus ſtill added to his influence, by carrying a law for its diviſion amongſt ſuch of the poor citizens as ſhould not get land by the intended diſtribution. The revenues of the kingdom of Pergamus, were alſo to be applied as the people in comitium ſhould direct, inſtead of being under the controul of

the Senate, which was moſt highly reſented by the members of that aſſembly.

Though contrary to law, Sempronius Gracchus, at the expiration of his tribuneſhip, became again a candidate for that office. Finding he muſt ſucceed, a number of ſenators, headed by Scipio Naſica, fell on Gracchus and ſlew him, together with 300 of his friends. For ſome days his followers alſo were every where aſſaſſinated. And the people, inſtead of revenging their favourite, were ſatisfied at the appointment of P. Craſſus in his room, to execute the Agrarian law. Whilſt Scipio Naſica and his party, obtained a general pardon by a decree of the ſenate.

A dangerous inſurrection in Sicily, is the next event of conſequence. The Roman knights who were employed in the collection of its revenues, had acquired vaſt eſtates in that iſland, which they had ſtocked with great numbers of ſlaves. Theſe unfortunate men, being grievouſly oppreſſed, roſe upon their maſters, at the ſame time appointing

one of themſelves, named Eunus, for their king. They put to death every freeman they met with, and for a time made good their revolt. But it ended in their being reduced to their former ſervitude. And much about the ſame time, Ariſtonicus wreſted the kingdom of Pergamus from the Roman republic.

In the election of conſuls for the year in which Ariſtonicus began his enterpriſe, a great novelty happened at Rome. The High Prieſt of Mars, and the Pontifex Maximus were raiſed to the conſulate. And the latter being ſent againſt Pergamus, loſt his life on that occaſion. Two Plebeians were at this time raiſed to the cenſorſhip, though by the eſtabliſhed rule one only was eligible. It was alſo enacted during this conſulate, that women at a certain age ſhould be obliged to marry. And Corbo, a tribune of the people, attempted to enforce the execution of the Agrarian law.

Perperna, a ſoldier of fortune, and not

even a Roman citizen, was raiſed to the conſulate, and ſucceeded the Pontifex Maximus in the Aſiatic command, where he had conſiderable ſucceſs. At Rome, the Tribunitial power was ſtill encroaching on the Patricians. And Q. Cæcilius Metellus, the Cenſor, refuſing Labeo, a Tribune, a ſeat in the ſenate, Labeo ſeized him, and would have thrown him from the Tarpeian rock, had not another Tribune reſcued him. Labeo however got Metellus's goods confiſcated, beſides a decree, that from henceforth the Tribunes ſhould have the right of voting in the ſenate.

The three commiſſioners for enforcing the Agrarian law, had proceeded to the execution of their office; but they were accuſed of the moſt glaring partiality, and the ſecond Scipio Africanus, who openly alledged the injuſtice of their conduct, was on the point of being raiſed to the Dictatorſhip, in order to ſettle that buſineſs. To avert this, the commiſſioners are ſuppoſed to have procured his murder, and even to have drawn his wife

into the plot: For he was found dead in his bed, with ſeveral marks of violence, and no enquiry was made as to the cauſe of it. Thus periſhed the gallant Africanus, to whom Rome was ſo much indebted; nor was there at this time ſufficient virtue amongſt the Romans, to avenge this vile aſſaſſination. Scipio Africanus appears to have been a man of the ſtricteſt integrity; and perhaps there could not be a better proof of it, than that he died extremely poor, notwithſtanding the exalted ſtations he had filled, and the vaſt ſpoils which muſt have been taken in the numerous and important victories which he obtained.

Caius Gracchus, though one of the commiſſioners, found means to be popular, thereby obtaining the Tribuneſhip. He then carried a law, by which the Knights who were at the head of the Plebeian order, ſhould decide all private cauſes. This juriſdiction before belonged to the Senators, and was the great ſource of their influence amongſt the

people. It was therefore highly offenſive to them, and Gracchus added an inſult to this injury, by placing the ſeats of the ſenators in the comitium, ſo that their backs were turned to whoever ſpoke from the Roſtra. The law which prohibited any judge from executing a Roman citizen, though ſentenced to die, till the people gave their conſent, was revived. But what created greater diſſentions than all theſe regulations, was a propoſal made by Gracchus, that the right of voting ſhould be conferred on all the Italians, who were in friendſhip with Rome. This was no ſooner known, than as Gracchus foreſaw, multitudes of the foreigners crouded to ſupport him. And the Senate found it neceſſary to make an order, that no perſon who had not the right of voting, ſhould come nearer than five miles of the capital; which was enforced with the greateſt difficulty.

The power of Gracchus with the people, had become ſo formidable, that it could not be openly oppoſed. The ſenators there-

fore bribed another Tribune, named Druſus, to act in concert with them. And the plan fixed on, was, that whenever Gracchus moved any thing violent, Druſus ſhould go ſtill farther. By this means, as they foreſaw, Druſus became ſtill more popular than the other. But an opportunity now offered of getting Gracchus ſent from Rome, under the appearance of doing him honour. It had been a little before reſolved, to build a new city where Carthage had ſtood, and ſettle it with a Roman colony. Gracchus was therefore appointed one of thoſe who ſhould ſuperintend the undertaking. And ſetting out with 6000 citizens for Africa, his enemies had an opportunity of more effectually changing the affections of the people.

Gracchus, notwithſtanding this appointment, returned to Rome time enough to be a candidate for his re-election to the Tribuneſhip. In this the ſenatorial intereſt defeated him. And that body reſolving to mortify him ſtill more, now propoſed that he

ſhould be removed from ſuperintending the African colony. In a ſcuffle which this conteſt occaſioned, a ſervant of Gracchus ſlew one of the Conſul's lictors. This operated as a ſignal for the partizans of each; Gracchus, with a great body of the people, ſeizing on the Aventine Hill, whilſt the ſenators and their followers took poſſeſſion of the capitol. The ſenate then cauſed a free pardon to be proclaimed to all thoſe who abandoned Gracchus; the conſequence of which was, that moſt of the people deſerted him; and venturing an engagement with the few that remained, he was defeated and ſlain. L. Opimius, one of the conſuls, then let looſe his vengeance againſt the followers, and even the children of the unfortunate Tribune, executing all without mercy. After which, every law which Gracchus had gained for the people, was repealed.

Several trivial diſturbances happened in different quarters of the Roman empire, which I paſs without notice. But a ſerious danger for a ſhort time threatened the repub-

lic from Tranſalpine Gaul. Bitultick, King of a nation called the Averni, appeared at the head of 200,000 men. He was however defeated and taken priſoner by Fabius Maximus, who commanded the forces that had been ſent to oppoſe this invaſion.

For a conſiderable time no laws could be propoſed but by the Tribunes of the people. This was broke through by the conſul Æ. Scaurus, for he moved and carried ſeveral regulations againſt luxury and gaming. In conjunction with the Cenſors, thirty-two ſenators were alſo degraded for their improprieties. And Scaurus having proved ſucceſsful againſt ſome Gauliſh nations, was rewarded not only with a triumph, but likewiſe with the office of prince or ſpeaker of the ſenate. At this period, three of the Veſtals being detected intriguing, two of them with their gallants, ſuffered death. And the women in general had now loſt that regard to virtue which had prevailed in the more virtuous days of Rome.

The Romans had formed ſeveral ſettle-

ments in that part of Tranſalpine Gaul which was adjacent to the Alps. In thoſe countries, a new enemy at this time appeared, called the Cimbri and Teutones. They came from the country ſince called Germany, and the Conſul Papirius Corbo, who was ſent to oppoſe them, was defeated with the loſs of his army. The victorious Cimbri and Teutones, however, inſtead of paſſing the Alps, as the Romans dreaded, contented themſelves for the preſent in overrunning the ſettlements in Tranſalpine Gaul.

A war of no leſs conſequence, was at this time on the point of breaking out in Africa, the ſource of which I ſhall briefly relate. Micipſa, the tributary King of Numidia, who died a few years before, left two ſons, Adherbal and Hiempſal, beſides a nephew, named Jugurtha, whom he adopted. He therefore by his will, bequeathed his dominions to the three. But the ungrateful Jugurtha, not contented with his third, murdered Hiempſal, and driving out Adherbal, poſſeſſed himſelf of all.

Adherbal being thus depoſed, repaired to Rome, and implored the aid of the ſenate; Ambaſſadors at the ſame time arriving from Jugurtha, who by their preſents ſecured a majority of that venal aſſembly. Ten commiſſioners were however ordered into Africa, to divide the kingdom between theſe competitors. But bribery being exerted by Jugurtha, in this inſtance alſo, by far the richeſt territory was allotted to him. Nor did this ſatisfy that deteſtable tyrant, for the commiſſioners were no ſooner gone, than he attacked the kingdom of Adherbal, beſieging that prince in Cirtha, his capital.

Thus ſituated, meſſengers were diſpatched by Adherbal to Rome, from whence new commiſſioners were ſent, who did nothing, owing to the money paid them by Jugurtha. On a freſh application, other commiſſioners arrived in Africa, who, under the ſame influence, followed the example of their predeceſſors. Seeing no proſpect of ſuccour, Adherbal at length ſurrendered, on the terms of his own and his people's lives being ſpared.

But Jugurtha, whom no ties could bind, put him to a cruel death. And having maſſacred all that were found in Cirtha, he became the ſole poſſeſſor of the Numidian territories.

Though Rome was become moſt dreadfully corrupt, ſome virtue yet remained in the bulk of the people. Their indignation was juſtly raiſed at the murder of Adherbal. This they truly ſuppoſed would not have happened had the Roman commiſſioners done their duty. Caius Memmius, one of their Tribunes, therefore openly accuſed not only the perſons employed, but the ſenators at large, of venality, at the ſame time demanding an immediate war with Jugurtha. To this the ſenate appeared to acquieſce, though after a few frivolous preparations that amuſed the people, it ended in a peace with the bloody Monarch of Numidia.

Memmius, the Tribune, now thought of another mode for puniſhing this tributary king. He got the people to decree, that he ſhould come before them in perſon, and an-

ſwer for his conduct. With this Jugurtha complied, and he was called upon to declare what bribes he had given, and to whom. The venal ſenators, to guard againſt ſuch a diſcovery, had however ſecured one Salca, a Tribune, to forbid his anſwering ſuch queſtions. And this being the law, Jugurtha was not obliged to reply.

A competitor for the Numidian crown was at this time alſo in Rome. His name was Maſſiva, and his claim aroſe from his being a nephew of Micipſa's. Jugurtha now cauſed this rival to be publicly aſſaſſinated; after which, to the eternal infamy of the ſenate, he was ſuffered to return, without trial or puniſhment, to Africa. The reſentment of the people at large, was however no longer to be ſtemmed. War was declared againſt him, and a Tribunal erected for the trial of thoſe who had received the bribes of this deteſtable uſurper.

Scaurus, Prince of the Senate, was one of the commiſſioners ſent into Africa, where he had been as venal as the worſt. Not-

withſtanding this, his intereſt was ſufficient to make him preſident of the court that was to try ſuch offenders. And ſeveral perſons were condemned and baniſhed for it, one of whom was that Opimius, who had purſued the family and followers of Caius Gracchus, with ſo much ſeverity.

Aulus Poſthumius was appointed to carry on the African war. But Numidian gold getting into the camp as it had before done into the ſenate, it was betrayed to the enemy. Jugurtha then obtained a peace from Poſthumius on his own terms; one article of which was, that the Roman army ſhould paſs under the yoke. When the news of this arrived at Rome, the ſenate, however, refuſed to ratify the treaty. And having ſome return of public virtue, or perhaps inſtigated by ſhame for their former baſeneſs, they now ſent a man of courage, conduct, and integrity, to command againſt Jugurtha.

This was Q. Cæcilius Metellus, who ſoon convinced the Numidian King of the ſuperiority of Rome. He reduced him to ſuch

ſtreights, that Jugurtha was glad to accept terms, on delivering up all his elephants and arms, beſides paying a conſiderable ſum of money. Metellus then ordered him to come in perſon before him. But a ſudden apprehenſion ſeizing Jugurtha, probably from a conſciouſneſs of his crimes, he choſe rather to renew the war than truſt himſelf in the hands of the Romans.

Caius Marius, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf in Spain, under the ſecond Scipio Africanus, was honoured by Metellus with the poſt of his Lieutenant in this war. His conduct in it fully juſtified that choice, ſo far as related to the martial character. But Marius ſuffered ambition to overcome his gratitude, and he by every art, endeavoured to ſupplant his general. Both by his own, and the letters of others, he had Metellus's conduct cenſured at Rome; whilſt at the ſame time, he had alſo his emiſſaries to undermine him with the army. Having by ſuch baſe means laid the foundation of his own elevation, Marius obtained leave from the unſuſpecting Metellus,

to return for a ſhort time to Italy. He arrived there ſix days before the election for conſuls, and declaring himſelf a candidate, proved ſucceſsful. Nor did the people ſtop there, for they appointed him to ſuperſede Metellus, notwithſtanding the ſenate had before decreed, that the latter ſhould continue in his poſt to the end of the war. But Marius, who affected to be of the popular party, openly boaſted, that this victory over the ſenatorial body, was more grateful to him than if he had conquered the Monarch of Numidia.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacting at home, Jugurtha, when brought to the loweſt ebb, was unexpectedly joined by the Getuli, a neighbouring people, and by Bocchus, King of Mauritania. This obliged Metellus to act on the defenſive; and in that ſtate of affairs, Marius brought over a conſiderable reinforcement to Africa. Metellus being thus ſuperſeded, ſet out for Rome, without having an interview with his ungrateful lieutenant. On his arrival, the affections of the people

began already to change in his favour; and beſides voting him a triumph, they honoured him with the additional name of Numidicus.

Marius, who was attended with great ſucceſs, having eſtabliſhed his ſuperiority in the field, laid ſiege to the moſt important cities. Such as held out, he treated with the greateſt ſeverity. And after a few ſuch examples, almoſt every place ſubmitted at his approach. In this war, Lucius Cornelius Sylla, who ſerved as Quæſtor, an office next in conſequence to the conſul, firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf. He had been a man of the moſt effeminate and debauched manners. His fortune was entirely diſſipated, when a courtezan that was attached to him, left him a ſum of money, which being added to by his mother, he reſolved to become a man of buſineſs. Having powerful friends, he got this appointment, and on joining the camp, he determined to make Marius his model. Marius was remarkable for his plain way of living, as well as for the auſterity of his manners. But Sylla had reſolution enough to

throw off all his former habits, in a ſhort time becoming both a gallant and an able ſoldier.

After various ſucceſſes, Bocchus was glad to conclude a ſeparate peace with Marius; one article of which was, the betraying of Jugurtha. This latter part was accompliſhed chiefly by the management of Sylla, who had been ſent for that purpoſe to the court of Mauritania. And both at Rome and in the army, he obtained ſuch applauſe for it, and for his valour, that Marius began to feel uneaſy, though his jealouſy did not yet burſt into notice.

The war being ended, Bocchus was rewarded with a part of Numidia, afterwards called New Mauritania. Another part of the conquered country, was added to the Roman province in that quarter; and what remained was divided between Hiempſal and Mandreſtal, who were deſcended from Maſiniſſa.

The Cimbri and Teutones ſtill held good their conqueſts in Tranſalpine Gaul, having defeated ſeveral Roman armies. The con-

ſequence was, that they were joined by ſome of the Gauliſh ſtates, thereby becoming ſtill more formidable. Servilius Cæpio, as Proconſul, had the command of the Roman forces ſent againſt them, during the laſt year of the Numidian war: and M. Aurelius Scaurus, one of the new conſuls, was ordered to join him with a powerful army. But Cæpio, offended at the command being thus taken from him, diſobeyed the orders of Scaurus. The conſequence of this miſunderſtanding, was a dreadful overthrow of both their forces. Eighty thouſand fighting men and forty thouſand followers of the camp, are ſaid to have periſhed, twelve men only eſcaping from this field of blood. And a revolt of the Luſitanians happening about the ſame time in Spain, Rome was ſeized with the utmoſt conſternation.

In this emergency, all the youth that were able to bear arms, were embodied. Marius, who was on his road from Africa, was at the ſame time elected conſul, and appointed to the command in Gaul; and though out of

the uſual courſe, the people named Sylla for his lieutenant, thereby ſecuring the ſervices of two men whom they deemed moſt equal to this dangerous ſituation. Soon after theſe appointments, Marius entered Rome in triumph, Jugurtha and his two ſons appearing in the train of the victor. The firſt, was either put to death, or died in priſon of the hard uſage he received. But the latter were ſuffered to live in obſcurity.

The Cimbri and Teutones, inſtead of paſſing the Alps after their deciſive victory, turned their arms towards Spain. Marius thereupon diſpatched Sylla, with a detachment, to chaſtiſe thoſe countries of Tranſalpine Gaul that had joined the enemy; which ſervice was performed with his uſual good conduct and ſucceſs. Marius for this year contented himſelf with training the new levies, whom he had preferred to the veterans which he brought from Africa, to arms; at the ſame time ſending to the different ſtates, that were tributary to Rome, for more recruits. This led to a public diſcovery of the dreadful ty-

ranny exerciſed by the Romans; for Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, in reply to the demand of Marius, informed him, that the Roman knights employed to collect the taxes of his kingdom, had on one pretence or other, carried all his people that were fit to bear arms, into ſlavery. To what a ſtate muſt that king and country have been reduced, when ſuch an anſwer was found to be true, on the fulleſt inveſtigation! The ſenate however in conſequence of it, paſſed a decree, that every ſlave who was born free, ſhould immediately be emancipated throughout the empire.

Some trivial diſturbances aroſe in Campania, from the eagerneſs of the ſlaves, to benefit by this order. But in Sicily it cauſed a very formidable inſurrection. The Roman knights in that iſland, had bribed the Prætor to evade the edict. This drove the ſlaves to a revolt, on which 20,000 of them flew to arms, electing one Salvius for their king. And defeating the Prætor, they were for

ſome time able to defy the power of their former maſters.

During theſe troubles, the popular party at Rome again obtained the aſcendancy. The Pontifices were now elected by the people, which right had hitherto been veſted in the reſpective colleges of prieſts. It was alſo decreed, that a man degraded by a Plebiſcitum or vote of the people, could never ſit in the ſenate. They likewiſe enacted, that if any ally of Rome ſhould accuſe a ſenator, and ſubſtantiate the offence with which he charged him, he was to be rewarded with all the privileges of a Roman citizen. An attempt was at this time made to enforce the Agrarian law, but as uſual it proved ineffectual.

Marius, by his intrigues, was raiſed a third, and afterwards the fourth time, to the conſulate, though he affected to decline it. As yet he had only prepared for action; but in his fourth conſulate, he made up for any ſeeming delay. The Cimbri and their allies had determined to invade Italy by the eaſtern ſide of the Alps, whilſt the Teutones and

thoſe nations which had joined them, were to make a ſimilar effort to the weſtward. Marius was poſted near the mouth of the Rhone, in ſuch a ſituation as to interrupt the deſigns of the Teutones, who frequently offered him battle, whilſt Marius as conſtantly declined quitting his ſtrong ſituation. At length, however, a favourable opportunity arrived for attacking the enemy; and he then gave them a deciſive blow.

The next year Marius was again conſul, and turning his arms againſt the Cimbri, who had now entered Italy, he was compleatly victorious. The war with the ſlaves in Sicily was ended much about the ſame time, by their being ſubdued. And thus in the year 96, Rome was relieved from thoſe foreign and domeſtic attacks which had not a little alarmed her.

By his ſucceſs, his flattery, and corruption, Marius was for the ſixth time honoured with the conſular dignity. In order to carry ſtill more ambitious views into effect, he was

privately leagued with two very infamous, but at the ſame time popular men. Theſe were Glaucia, the prætor of civil cauſes, and Apuleius, a Tribune of the people. In order to lower the ſenate, Apuleius now propoſed the diſtribution of ſome conquered lands, and alſo that the ſenators ſhould ſolemnly ſwear not to oppoſe the people in any thing. This being very juſtly offenſive, was for a time moſt ſtrenuouſly reſiſted; but the arts of Marius prevailing, it was complied with. Metellus Numidicus, whom Marius formerly ſupplanted, was the only man of the ſenate, who had virtue enough to refuſe that encroachment; and for this firmneſs, he was baniſhed by a vote of the people.

Marius conducted himſelf with ſo much hypocriſy, that many of the ſenators ſuppoſed him of their party. But their eyes were ſoon after opened by the reluctance with which as conſul he acted againſt Apuleius and Glaucia. Their outrages became at length too grievous to be borne. Glaucia had ſtood for the conſulate, when being

likely to loſe it, he murdered Memmius, his competitor. After which, being joined by Apuleius, they and their followers took poſſeſſion of the capitol. The conſuls being then ordered by the ſenate to quell the inſurrection, Marius, with a dilatorineſs that diſcovered his real ſentiments, was obliged to comply. And though he endeavoured by every underhand means, to ſave his coadjutors, both Glaucia and Apuleius were ſlain, with numbers of their party. On this, Metellus Numidicus was recalled, and Marius having loſt his conſequence at Rome, thought it adviſeable to paſs into Aſia, giving out that he went to perform ſome religious duties that could only be executed in that quarter. In Spain, a freſh revolt had taken place, which afforded an opportunity to Sertorius, afterwards very conſpicuous in hiſtory, to diſplay his military talents. For he highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf there in the capacity of a military Tribune.

Sylla now became the moſt popular man

at Rome; and Marius, on his return, had the mortification of finding himſelf almoſt totally neglected. New events were however about to take place, in which the Romans were to be divided into two factions, headed by theſe rivals. It had been for a conſiderable time, the object of the different people of Italy, to be admitted to the rights of Roman citizens, and at length in the year 86, it occaſioned an open rupture. The different ſtates, who ſought for this privilege, making it a common cauſe, the Romans were placed in the moſt dangerous ſituation. And different bodies of their troops having been worſted, the abſolute ruin of this celebrated people ſeemed to be at hand. To avert it, Sext. Julius Cæſar, one of the conſuls, procured a law, by which all the Italian nations were to enjoy what they contended for; which being promulgated, many ſtates immediately abandoned the confederacy. The Lucanians, Samnites, Marci, Picentes, and ſeveral others, however perſevered, from the proſpect of deſtroying their ancient enemy.

Aſellio, prætor of the city, was at this time openly murdered by a body of wealthy uſurers, whoſe extortions he had puniſhed; and ſuch was the venality of Rome, that their riches procured their ſafety. A law was however made in conſequence of it, making it death to go armed into the comitium, or to diſturb a judge in the execution of his office. The juriſdiction of the Roman knights, which they had moſt groſly abuſed, was now taken from them, each tribe chooſing fifteen perſons, to whom they committed the deciſion of their civil cauſes. The laſt hand was alſo put to Sext. Julius Cæſar's law; every Italian, who regeſtered his name with any of the prætors in ſixty days, becoming a Roman citizen. All theſe foreigners were then formed into new tribes; and as the 35 former tribes outnumbered the latter, it gave the Italians rather a nominal than a real power in the ſtate.

Sylla having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in this Italian or ſocial war, was raiſed to the

conſulate. This was highly diſagreeable to Marius, who in order to pull down his rival, leagued himſelf with P. Sulpitius, a Tribune of the people. Sulpitius was a moſt deteſtable character, but of vaſt influence, not leſs than 3000 needy and deſperate men being conſtantly ſupported by him. And beſides theſe, who were ready at a call, he was commonly attended by a number of young knights, who were devoted to his ſervice. In order to poſſeſs unbounded power, Sulpitius now reſolved to gain over the Italians, who were lately made citizens. He therefore propoſed, that inſtead of the new tribes, they ſhould be incorporated into the old ones. This was highly offenſive to the ſenators, whoſe intereſt would thereby, in fact, be annihilated; for the citizens from the Italian ſtates, over whom they had no influence, would outnumber the old ones. And the queſtion was deemed of ſo much importance, that the Conſul Sylla, leaving the ſiege of Nola, the only city in Italy which then held out, returned to Rome.

The firſt ſtep taken by Sylla and his colleague Pompeius Rufus, was to gain time. They therefore declared ſeveral days in ſucceſſion to be Holy Days; during which, according to law, no buſineſs could be done. But Sulpitius, with a number of his ruffians, dreading any delay, entered the ſenate, demanding a repeal of this order; which being refuſed, his followers fell on the ſenators, and the ſon of the Conſul Pompeius was ſlain. Sylla himſelf would have periſhed, had he not taken ſhelter in the houſe of Marius, who, on this occaſion, acted with great generoſity, affording his rival ample protection; on the condition, however, of the order for Holy Days being repealed. This being accordingly done, Sylla was glad to repair to the camp before Nola. The Conſul Pompeius likewiſe left Rome, and there being no one who then dared to oppoſe Sulpitius, he carried the law in favour of the Italian allies. He likewiſe had Marius nominated to command the army againſt Mith-

ridates, King of Pontus, though Sylla had been before appointed by the ſenate; but Marius and Sulpitius were now every thing at Rome.

Thus appointed, Marius ſent two military Tribunes to the camp before Nola, informing the troops they were no longer to obey Sylla. This inſult on the conſul, ſo irritated the ſoldiers, that they put theſe Tribunes to inſtant death, at the ſame time breathing nothing but vengeance againſt their employer. In return, Marius cut off the neareſt and ſteadieſt friends of Sylla, at the ſame time making himſelf maſter of their property. On hearing this, Sylla marched directly for Rome, from whence Marius made his eſcape. Sulpitius was however taken and beheaded, and numbers of that faction were immediately proſcribed.

Sylla was at the head of the Senatorial party, which he highly gratified, by getting all thoſe laws repealed, which Sulpitius had procured. He had it alſo enacted, that no law ſhould be thenceforth propoſed to the

people till it had paſſed in the ſenate. The voting in Comitia by centuries, inſtead of tribes, was revived. And to prevent perſons of great weight becoming Tribunes of the people, it was decreed, that from thenceforth whoever filled that office, ſhould be incapable of any other magiſtracy. By theſe acts, loſing all his popularity, his conſulate no ſooner ended, than he was ſummoned by the people to give an account of his conduct. But having been before appointed by the ſenate to go againſt the generals of Mithridates, who were ravaging Greece, he ſet out on that expedition. In which he very ſoon changed the aſpect of affairs, as I have already more particularly related.

L. Cornelius Cinna, one of the new conſuls, being of the Marian faction, propoſed a revival of the law which incorporated the Italian citizens into the 35 tribes. This was as ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Cn. Octavius, his colleague, who, on receiving information that Cinna's partizans were to go to the Forum with concealed arms, gave the ſame di-

rections to his followers. The conſequence was, a dreadful battle, in which 10,000 were ſlain. Cinna, who was defeated, then fled from Rome, with all the new citizens that eſcaped, and declaring himſelf the champion of the Italian ſtates; his forces in a ſhort time amounted to thirty legions. On this change in affairs, Marius again made his appearance, acting under Cinna, with the title of Proconſul. Sertorius, who had returned from Spain, was likewiſe raiſed to a high command. Theſe three, at the head of diſtinct armies, then inveſted Rome, where a fourth ſoon after co-operated, under the conduct of Papirius Carbo. The city, which was poſſeſſed by Sylla's friends, made a reſolute defence; and during this ſiege, Pompey the Great, though quite a youth, firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf. But Rome was at length obliged to open her gates to Cinna and his coadjutors.

Sertorius in vain endeavoured to ſoften the cruelties of his colleagues, and the barbarities practiſed by Cinna, Carbo, and particularly

Marius, are almoſt incredible. Every friend of Sylla, or of the Ariſtocratic party, that they could get at, fell by the ſword. Their goods and eſtates were confiſcated, and Rome exhibited a ſcene of blood and rapine, greater than ever diſgraced the moſt ſavage nation of antiquity. Its freedom was alſo for the preſent annihilated, Cinna, without any form of election, raiſing himſelf and Marius to the Conſulate.

When this news reached Sylla, who had been extremely ſucceſsful againſt Mithridates, he wrote home, that ſo ſoon as he had finiſhed that war, he would have ample vengeance on his enemies at Rome. To prevent the execution of this threat, Valerius Flaccus, one of the Conſuls, was ſent into Aſia, to take the command in that quarter. But Marius was ſo affected by Sylla's declarations, that he took to exceſſive drinking, which in a ſhort time ended his days. He was ſucceeded in his uſurped power by his ſon and name-ſake, who inherited the ſavage diſpoſition of his father.

Sylla having concluded a peace with Mithridates, and having alſo united the forces of Flaccus to his own, as I have already related, was preparing for his return to Italy. Whilſt, on the other hand, Cinna and his colleagues exerted themſelves in raiſing vaſt armies to oppoſe this formidable enemy.

Cinna intended to meet Sylla before he could reach Italy; but being ſlain in a tumult that happened amongſt his forces, Carbo, the ſurviving Conſul, reſolved to wait for him at Rome; and he had not leſs than 200,000 men embodied under different commanders.

It was not till the next year that Sylla arrived, accompanied by 40,000 veterans. His firſt action was with C. Junius Norbanus, one of the new Conſuls, whom he defeated with conſiderable loſs; in conſequence of which numbers declared for him. He, however, ſoon after got himſelf into a very dangerous ſituation, being nearly ſurrounded by the army under the other Conſul, L. Cornelius Scipio. This he, however, turned to

his advantage, for pretending an anxiety for an accommodation, a truce of a few days was agreed on. During it, an intercourſe took place between the two camps; and Sylla managed matters ſo well, that the whole Conſular army revolted to him. This being greatly owing to the deſpicable opinion they entertained of Scipio, Sylla wiſely ſuffered him to depart. But Marius and Carbo were ſtill the leaders of powerful armies; it being as yet far from being decided, to whom victory would ultimately belong.

This was the ſtate of affairs when Pompey, then only 23 years old, declared himſelf the friend of Sylla. He raiſed three legions at his own expence, making himſelf maſter of ſeveral places belonging to the oppoſite party. He then thought it beſt to attempt a junction with Sylla, but he had ſeveral dangers to encounter before he could accompliſh it. A body of the enemy, commanded by a Roman General, named Brutus, firſt attacked him, and was defeated. The Conſul Scipio, with a new army, next intercepting his march, that

General had the misfortune to be a ſecond time deſerted, his forces uniting themſelves to the victorious Pompey. And the latter, after a partial engagement with Papirius Carbo, in which he had the advantage, reached the camp of Sylla. There the youthful hero was received with every mark of reſpect. And the opponents of Sylla now thought it expedient to cover Rome itſelf with all their forces.

Papirius Carbo and Marius being made Conſuls, began the next campaign with a partial engagement, in which the troops of Sylla, under Metellus Pius, proved victorious. Marius, in revenge, commenced a freſh perſecution againſt ſuch of Sylla's party as were in his power; and ſeveral men of conſequence were cut off by his orders. Sylla was no ſooner acquainted with theſe cruelties, than he advanced againſt the city. This brought on an engagement between him and Marius, in which the latter was totally overthrown, retiring with the remnant of his army to the city of Præneſte. Sylla then

entering Rome, which had been abandoned by the Marian faction. The property of his enemies was confiſcated, whilſt every appointment of the ſtate was conferred on his friends. And having adjuſted things in the capital, he went in queſt of Carbo, whom he likewiſe defeated; his generals, at the ſame time, proving victorious in different parts of Italy.

Teleſinus, a Samnite general, though he equally hated both parties, and meant, if poſſible, to riſe on the ruin of the Romans, at this time ſupported the ſinking Marian faction. Having, however, got between Sylla and Rome, and thinking that city muſt fall to him, he openly ventured to avow his intentions. Sylla, to prevent the deſtruction of the capital, immediately followed and attacked him. In the engagement, the wing which Sylla headed was entirely defeated, he himſelf moſt narrowly eſcaping with his life. But M. Craſſus, who commanded the reſt of the army, changed the fortune of the day. Teleſinus was ſlain with moſt of his forces,

and the greateſt part of what remained being taken priſoners, Sylla put them to death. All who were capable of bearing arms in Prænesſte, which ſoon after ſurrendered, ſhared the ſame fate, except Marius, who was his own executioner.

All Italy now ſubmitted to the Conqueror, who diſtributed part of his forces, ſo as to prevent diſturbances in the country, whilſt he entered Rome at the head of the remainder. Sylla then declared to the aſſembled people, that not one of thoſe who had borne arms againſt him ſhould eſcape his reſentment. In purſuance of this reſolve, he iſſued his proſcriptions, fixing on Lucius Sergius Catiline, who had before killed his own brother, as the chief inſtrument of his cruelties. If poſſible, the horrid maſſacre that followed, exceeded the bloody executions of Marius and his party. Nine thouſand citizens, knights, and ſenators ſuffered death, before any ceſſation was put to theſe orders. And Sylla then ſaid, he only ſtopped to conſider who elſe ſhould be proſcribed.

This happened in the year 77, and the Romans were reduced for a time to the moſt poſitive ſlavery; Sylla being nominated Dictator without any limitation; and a ſtatue of braſs was erected to his honour in the public Forum. He now confiſcated the property of all that eſcaped his bloody orders, whilſt he at the ſame time precluded their children from every public appointment. In order to prevent the Tribunitial Power becoming dangerous, he renewed the law, that they could fill no other office, and enacted, that they were not to ſpeak when any queſtion was agitating. He likewiſe had it enacted, that the peoples Tribunes muſt be Senators. The Pontifices, Augurs, and Sybilline Decemvirs were reinſtated in their former power, filling up their vacancies out of their own reſpective colleges, each of which was, at this time, encreaſed from ten to fifteen in number. As the temple to Jupiter Capitolinus had been burned two years before, and with it the Sybilline oracles, the keepers of them, by his orders, repaired the loſs as well as they could,

putting down all they recollected of them. To ſecure his weight in the city, Sylla raiſed 10,000 ſlaves to the rank of citizens, who, from his name, were termed Cornelians. He likewiſe rewarded his old Legionaries with comfortable ſettlements. And having taken every neceſſary precaution to ſecure his power, he triumphed for two days together, during which he exhibited the vaſt wealth he had by different means acquired.

Sicily had joined the Marian faction, but Pompey, who was ſent into that iſland, quickly reduced it. From thence, this young conqueror paſſed over to Africa, where Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus made head againſt Sylla's party, having prevailed on Hiarbas, who was king over a part of Numidia, to join him. In this expedition, Pompey alſo proved victorious, rewarding Hiempſal, the other Numidian King, with the territories of Hiarbas; and both here, and in Sicily, he behaved with great clemency. The reputation of Pompey rather raiſed a jealouſy in Sylla, of what his deſigns might

ultimately be. This he was however cured of by the ſubſequent conduct of Pompey; for the latter being ordered to diſband his army, inſtantly complied. Sylla therefore received him, on his return to Rome, with the moſt cordial affection, giving him the title of Pompey the Great. Though only a Roman knight, he afterwards granted him a triumph. And beſides ſecuring Pompey in his intereſts, Sylla now ſought to gain the affections of the public; for which purpoſe he moſt magnificently feaſted all the Roman people.

Julius Cæſar, though ſon in law to Cinna, and uncommonly bold in his cenſures of Sylla, had eſcaped proſcription. Sylla, however, foreſaw his future greatneſs, obſerving that he had in him many Marius's. And Cæſar thought it adviſeable to retire to Aſia, under pretence of purſuing his ſtudies, where he found ſhelter in the court of Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, to whom he is ſaid to have been a Catamite. Cicero, who was alſo at this time conſpicuous for his abilities, retired

to Athens; but both of them were ſoon reſtored to their country by a moſt unexpected and extraordinary conduct on the part of Sylla. Though he had ſhed the blood of 100,000 citizens, to obtain the ſupreme power, he, of his own accord, reſigned it. And what is perhaps ſtill more extraordinary, he was ſuffered to die a natural death, notwithſtanding the multitude of ſenators, and others, who were butchered by his order.

The motive from which this abdication aroſe, has been the ſubject of great controverſy. That virtue had nothing to ſay to it, his prior and ſubſequent conduct fully evinces. The love of pleaſure, and the deſire of ſatisfying all his appetites without controul, was, I apprehend, the true cauſe. And his life in retirement, proves it to be ſo. As his friends were left in power, and he himſelf no longer an object of their envy, he thought himſelf ſecure. He therefore relinquiſhed public affairs, repairing to his country eſtate, that he might give a looſe to all his propen-

ſities. Many of them were abominable ; and though he was lately married to a young and beautiful woman, he practiſed the moſt unnatural luſts. Roſcius, one of the greateſt of the Roman comedians, Sorex, a remarkable mimic, and Metrobius, who acted as a woman on the ſtage, were his catamites and conſtant companions. But this vicious monſter was not long ſuffered to ſurvive his ſummit of wickedneſs ; for a diſeaſe ſeized him in the year 73, which occaſioned lice to iſſue from every part of his body. His cruelty prevailed even to the laſt, and he cauſed a man whom he thought culpable, to be ſtrangled in his preſence the very day before he himſelf expired. Amidſt all his vices, he had one quality that was highly commendable ; which was, the ſtrongeſt attachment to thoſe who had ſerved him ; but his reſentments were equally violent. And it was his boaſt, that he had repaid both friends and enemies with uſury. His abdicating the ſupreme power, was, however, more than a counterpoiſe in the eyes of the Roman citi-

zens, for all his enormities; and they honoured him with a moſt magnificent funeral.

M. Æmilius Lepidus, one of the conſuls, now approached Rome, at the head of an army he commanded, inſiſting on being reelected. His colleague, with the aſſiſtance of Pompey, however drove him from the city; which defeat he did not long ſurvive. Pompey, after this ſervice, was nominated to the command in Spain, where the remnant of the Marian faction were in power. Sertorius, who was at the head of it, beat all the generals ſent againſt him by Sylla. And he had ſo ingratiated himſelf with the Luſitanians, that he induced them to change their regal government to that of a republic, over which he continued to poſſeſs the chief influence.

When Pompey entered Spain with his levies, he found Metellus, who had commanded the troops of his party extremely unſucceſsful; nor was Pompey for ſome time more fortunate. Sertorius had been lately rein-

forced by a body of Romans, headed by Perperna, and he took a conſiderable city in ſight of Pompey's camp, without that general daring to oppoſe it. Pompey afterwards fought two different actions, in which he was defeated. But the fortune of Metellus, who commanded a ſeparate army, at this time changed; and after ſeveral ſucceſſes, he forced Sertorius to quit the field. That general, however, very ſoon returned to it, and harraſſed his enemies ſo much, that they ſent to Rome for freſh ſupplies.

At this time Sertorius received 3000 talents and forty gallies from Mithridates, King of Pontus, who was hard preſſed by Lucullus; and in return, Sertorius aided him with a ſmall body of land forces. But amidſt theſe external proſpects of ſucceſs, Sertorius was on the verge of ruin, from internal villainy. The Luſitanians were incited againſt him, by the underhand manœuvres of Perperna, and other principal officers, who were jealous of his fame and power. And when they thought they might do it without the dan-

ger of its being revenged, they aſſaſſinated him at a feaſt to which Perperna had invited him.

Sertorius is highly celebrated by every writer on theſe times; and he appears to have been not only the ableſt but the beſt of all his cotemporaries. His death did not paſs unrevenged, for Perperna, who ſucceeded him, being totally inadequate to that command, was defeated and put to death. Moſt of thoſe concerned in the aſſaſſination, likewiſe loſt their lives. And in the year 69, the war was ended in Spain.

Much about this time, an inſurrection of the ſlaves took place in Italy. They were headed by Spartacus, a Thracian Gladiator, who was ſoon ſo formidable, as to engage and overcome both the then conſuls. Licinius Craſſus, a general, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf under Sylla, was ſent againſt them. They were defeated, and the few who eſcaped in this battle, being attacked by Pompey, who had juſt landed from Spain,

it ended the buſineſs; for which Pompey and Craſſus were rewarded by the Conſulate.

Theſe new Conſuls kept up an apparent friendſhip, whilſt each was jealous of the deſigns of the other. From this cauſe, it was ſome time before either would diſband his forces, though at length they both thought proper to do ſo. Craſſus, who was extremely wealthy, then ſought to riſe above his rival, by the moſt profuſe and expenſive entertainments. But Pompey purſued another, and full as effectual a method of acquiring power. He propoſed and obtained for the Tribunes of the people a reſtoration of their former authority. He alſo ſecured the great body of the Roman Knights on his ſide, by getting them appointed to judge in civil cauſes, together with the Prætor. And we ſhall ſoon ſee the effects of this judicious conduct.

The ſeas had been a long time moſt dreadfully infeſted by vaſt bodies of pirates, and M. Antonius, who had been ſent againſt

them with a Roman fleet, had been defeated, whilſt the war was carrying on againſt Sertorius. Gabinius, a Tribune of the people, who was particularly attached to Pompey, from thence took occaſion to propoſe a ſcheme for the extirpation of the pirates. It was, that ſome one man ſhould be appointed to command by ſea for three years, with a right to make whatever levies he might think proper. This was oppoſed by ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt of the Romans, who dreaded the uſe that might be made of ſuch a power. But the meaſure was carried, and Pompey nominated to this important office. He equipped 500 ſhips, and raiſed 120,000 foot, beſides ſome horſe. Twenty-five Senators ſerved under him as his Lieutenants, beſides two, who filled the poſt of Quæſtors, and the money allowed him for this expedition was 6000 Attic talents. The ſucceſs was equal to the equipment, for in four months he cleared the ſeas of this banditti. Ten Thouſand pirates were ſlain, 20,000 taken priſoners, and 800 of their ſhips were

deſtroyed. And Pompey alſo made himſelf maſter of 120 towns and caſtles which they poſſeſſed on the coaſts of the Mediterranean.

This news was received at Rome with the moſt unbounded joy. Manilius, a tribune of the people, in the height of their ſatisfaction, then propoſed, and carried it unanimouſly, that beſides his preſent power, the abſolute command of their affairs in Aſia ſhould be veſted in Pompey. In the Senate it produced a conteſt, in which Catulus, the Prince of that aſſembly, and Hortenſius, an orator of eminence, oppoſed, ſuch accumulated power in one individual. Cicero, on the other hand, exerted his eloquence for Pompey, becauſe he wanted to ſecure his intereſt for the Conſulate. And Julius Cæſar took the ſame ſide, in order to forward thoſe ambitious views which he had already formed. After ſome diſpute, it therefore paſſed here alſo, and Pompey had thoſe ſucceſſes againſt Mithridates and Tigranes which I have elſewhere related.

Julius Cæſar having paſſed through the offices of Legionary Tribune and Quæſtor, was at length raiſed to the Ædileſhip. In this poſt he courted popularity by the moſt ſplendid entertainments, exhibiting, amongſt other ſhows, 320 couple of gladiators. He alſo repaired the Appian way at his own expence; and by ſuch a conduct, added to engaging manners and great abilities, Pompey himſelf was not more in favour with the people. Marius's faction, though depreſſed, was not extinguiſhed. Cæſar therefore aimed at becoming its leader, as Pompey was at the head of Sylla's. For this purpoſe he tried the pulſe of the public, by producing the ſtatues of Marius, adorned with trophies, and found that he did ſo without offence. He now proceeded farther, cauſing ſeveral of Sylla's chief partizans to be baniſhed, or put to death, for their offences. Catiline, however found means to obtain the friendſhip of Cæſar, though the wickedeſt of all Sylla's followers. And Cæſar is generally ſuppoſed

to have been at leaſt privy to the conſpiracy now headed by that monſter.

Catiline having ruined himſelf by his vices, aſſociated with a number of others who were in the ſame ſituation. They then reſolved to relieve their wants, by cutting off the principal Senators, and uſurping the ſupreme power. This plot was conducted with ſo much art, that every thing was nearly ready for carrying it into execution, when Cicero, the then Conſul, was made acquainted with their intentions. The information came to him by means of a lady, who had an intrigue with one of the conſpirators. And there being no doubt of its reality, the Senate inveſted the Conſul with full power to ſave the ſtate. Cicero thought it beſt to accuſe Catiline to his face before the Senate, of which he was a member; ſoon after which Catiline fled. He was then proclaimed an enemy to his country, whilſt the heads of his party, that were in Rome, were ſeized, condemned and executed. And the army raiſed by Cati-

line being ſoon after defeated, and he himſelf ſlain, an end was put to this conſpiracy.

The Conſulate of Cicero happened in the year 59; and as Rome was ſaved from this intended ſcene of blood by his means, he was honoured with the appellation of being the Father of his country. But Julius Cæſar, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions that fell on him as to this conſpiracy, was likewiſe honoured, being very ſoon after raiſed to the dignity of Pontifex Maximus, by the ſuffrages of the people. In domeſtic affairs he was not ſo fortunate. His wife was detected in carrying on an intrigue with P. Clodius, a very debauched youth. There was indeed no actual proof of guilt; but Cæſar devorced her, adding, that the wife of Cæſar ought not even to be ſuſpected. His delicacy in this inſtance appears, however, to have been rather ſingular. For finding, not long after, that Clodius could be uſeful to his ambition, he became moſt intimately connected with him.

Pompey having ſettled every thing in Aſia,

returned to Italy. He there rewarded his forces in the moſt ample manner. After which, contrary to the expectations of moſt, he inſtantly diſbanded them. At his triumphal entry into Rome, ſeveral princes marched before him, all of whom he treated with kindneſs and generoſity: And an immenſe wealth was diſplayed in this proceſſion of the victorious Pompey.

The ſucceſſes, and liberal ſpirit of Pompey, well deſerved the approbation of the public. He therefore conceived that his late conduct, by which he proved, that he meant not to uſurp the ſupreme power, entitled him to the chief influence at Rome. But he ſoon found that party alone could carry any thing there; and his was weakened, not ſtrengthened, by his abſence; though that abſence was ſpent in the moſt illuſtrious ſervices to his country. On this, he is ſaid to have regretted the diſbanding his army; and he laid down freſh ſchemes for regaining his loſt influence. Clodius, notwithſtanding his vices,

was a very popular character; and with him Pompey closely connected himself, though by doing so, he forfeited the esteem of the few men of worth who were yet to be found in Rome.

Cæsar had got himself appointed to the government of one of the Spanish provinces a little before the return of Pompey. Whilst absent, he made war on some nations in that quarter, that had been hitherto unmolested by the Romans. And by subduing them, he acquired as much wealth as enabled him to pay his debts, though they amounted to 1,600,000l. of our money. Form the first setting out of Cæsar, his object was the supreme power. To obtain it his extravagance knew no bounds. And he was very early heard to declare, He would rather be the first man in a paltry village, than the second at Rome.

In the absence of Cæsar, Crassus and Pompey were the rival candidates for popular favour. When Cæsar returned from Spain, he therefore made it his object to be the me-

diator between them, on the terms that he ſhould have a third ſhare in directing all things at Rome: This junction he accompliſhed, though for a time it was kept ſecret, and by it the deſtruction of the republic was rendered inevitable. The triumvirate commenced in the year 55, and was perceived by Cato alone, who in vain attempted to expoſe their deſigns, nor was he believed, till it was too late to avert the evils which followed.

Cæſar, as had been previouſly ſettled, now ſtood for, and carried the Conſulate. His colleague Calpurnius Bibulus was no way favourable to the triumvirate; and when Cæſar, to render himſelf popular, propoſed the diviſion of certain lands in Campania amongſt the lower order, he was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Bibulus. Cicero alſo diſplayed his eloquence in expoſing the deſigns of the triumvirate. But Cæſar not only carried the decree for the diſtribution in Campania, but he alſo procured the baniſhment of Cicero. And that great orator, on this occaſion, betrayed a want of

firmneſs no way honourable to his abilities or his philoſophy. Cæſar ſtill farther ſtrengthened his intereſts by additional favours to the Roman Knights; for the public revenues being farmed by them, he cauſed one third of what they were to pay annually to the ſtate to be remitted.

Having thus ſecured a number of friends at home, he obtained the command in Ciſalpine and Tranſalpine Gaul for five years. His arms proved extremely ſucceſsful, reducing ſeveral nations to the Roman juriſdiction that had been hitherto unſubdued. And to add to his fame, he made good a landing in the iſland of Great-Britain, being the firſt of all the Romans who attempted the ſubjection of that people.

The Britains, though naked, and with rude arms ill adapted to oppoſe ſuch an enemy, did not tamely ſubmit to this invaſion. When Cæſar's veſſels approached their ſhores, they ran into the water to oppoſe the diſembarkation, behaving with the utmoſt bravery. But ſuch efforts were in vain, and after a

partial conqueſt of a part of the country, Cæſar returned to winter in Gaul.

In the ſpring Cæſar repaſſed the channel, to compleat the reduction of Britain. Its inhabitants expected no leſs, and the different petty ſtates united their forces under Caſſivelanus, one of their kings. But he was beat in a pitched battle, and was at length forced to acknowledge himſelf tributary to Rome; at the ſame time giving hoſtages for the performance of thoſe terms, on which peace was granted him by Cæſar. That Conqueror had no ſooner finiſhed this buſineſs, than he again repaired to Gaul, where a very general revolt had taken place. But Pompey having ſent him a reinforcement of two legions, it was not long before they were again reduced to obedience.

Whilſt Cæſar was thus purſuing the path of glory at a diſtance, ſome alterations happened at Rome, which led to very important conſequences. P. Clodius, who had been raiſed to the Tribuneſhip by the approbation of all the triumvirate, quarrelled with Pom-

pey, and attached himſelf particularly to the intereſts of Cæſar. Pompey then reſolved to get Cicero recalled, who was at enmity with Clodius. And having accompliſhed it, that celebrated orator was received at Rome with the higheſt honours. From this period, in particular, different intereſts and jealouſies began to ariſe between Pompey and Cæſar, though it was ſome time before they broke into action.

The power of the triumvirate was ſo great, that they were able to carry the divided government of the empire. For notwithſtanding the oppoſition given to it by Cato, and other real friends to liberty, the people made the following decree: That the ſupreme power in Egypt, Macedon, Syria, and their dependencies ſhould belong to Craſſus for five years, with full power to raiſe men and money, in order to extend the Roman power in Aſia; Ciſalpine and Tranſalpine Gaul was allotted to Cæſar in like manner: As was the two Spains to Pompey. Craſſus immediately ſet out to take poſſeſſion of his high

office. But Pompey thought it more advifeable to remain at home, contenting himſelf with raiſing a conſiderable force, which he encamped at the gates of the capital.

The death of Craſſus in Parthia gave a new turn to affairs, Pompey from that moment aiming at the ſupplanting of Cæſar. P. Clodius being ſoon after killed by Milo, an avowed enemy, Pompey fomented the diſturbances that enſued. This he did, that a Dictator might be thought neceſſary; and he would have been raiſed to that poſt, but for a manœuvre of Cato. He propoſed that Pompey ſhould be made ſole Conſul, which gave him all neceſſary power, at the ſame time leaving him anſwerable to the Senate. This novelty accordingly took place, which was ſoon followed by the tumult being ſuppreſſed. And Pompey then made himſelf highly agreeable to the Senate, by taking a colleague for the remainder of his Conſulate.

The next year Pompey was able to make two men Conſuls who were ſolely devoted to his intereſt. Cæſar at this time applied to

have his Proconſulſhip over Gaul renewed, the laſt five years decreed by the people being nearly expired; which being refuſed, he quickly perceived that Pompey's intereſt preponderated. He therefore exerted himſelf to eſtabliſh order where he was, that he might have more leiſure to attend to affairs at home; and he ſoon united all the countries from the Alps and Pyrenees to the Rhine into a Roman province. In his different campaigns from his appointment to this command, he is ſaid to have taken 800 cities, and to have defeated, at different times, armies that amounted in all to more than three millions of men. But the deſtruction occaſioned by his conqueſts was dreadful, it being computed that one third of that body were made priſoners, and as many more periſhed by the ſword.

As Pompey was ſo powerful at Rome, Cæſar thought it expedient to purchaſe one of the next Conſuls, named Paulus Æmilius. This he effected by giving him upwards of 300,000l. of our money for his ſervices.

Cæſar alſo bought Curio, a Tribune of the people, a man whom Pompey moſt firmly relied on. Curio, in order more effectually to ſerve Cæſar, propoſed what appeared extremely equitable, which was, that both Cæſar and Pompey ſhould now diſband their armies; but as he foreſaw, the latter refuſed to comply. Cæſar had therefore a good pretence for keeping his on foot alſo, though the time of his appointment was expired. And both pretended, what neither felt, a zeal for the public welfare.

Pompey and his friends now repreſented Cæſar, at the head of a victorious army, as a moſt dangerous enemy to the ſtate. And the Senate ordered the Conſuls, together with Pompey, as Proconſul, the Prætors, and other officers, to take proper means for the public ſafety. This was in fact a declaration againſt Cæſar, in favour of Pompey his avowed competitor. Whereas, had the Senate commanded both to diſband their forces, it is probable that neither would have diſobeyed, but would have again contented

themſelves by having recourſe to the arts of popularity. The fact however was, that the Senators, overawed by the preſence of Pompey, with his army at hand, dared not act with freedom. And by this decree, which paſſed in the year 44, they not only deluged their country with blood, but gave a final blow to the Roman republic. This determination of the Senate was very far from being pleaſing to the people at large, with whom Cæſar was ſtill a favourite. Curio, Caſſius Longinus, and Marc Antony, three of their tribunes, openly exclaimed againſt it. Pompey, however, immediately took the title of Generaliſſimo to the ſtate. And there not being any one with power to controul him, every place was filled with creatures devoted to his ſervice.

Cæſar had advanced with the third legion to Ravenna, which was within the boundaries of his command. This he did, that he might be near his friends at Rome. And he was here joined by the three Tribunes of the people, who were in his intereſt, they hav-

ing fled to him in the garbs of ſlaves. In this dreſs Cæſar preſented them to the ſoldiers, pointing out the ill treatment they and he had received in ſuch forcible terms, that the legion with one voice declared, they would faithfully adhere to him and to the Tribunes. Cæſar had now reached the moſt critical and important moment he had ever known. If he diſbanded his forces his ambition was for ever blaſted, and his life might alſo be at ſtake. If he went forward, a civil war was inevitable, the event of which was doubtful; and at beſt deſtructive to his country. For a ſhort time theſe reflections made him heſitate. But at length his ruling paſſion prevailed. He paſſed the Rubicon which bounded the province in which he had a right to act. And ſurpriſing the ſtrong city of Ariminium, he immediately ſent orders for all his troops to join him.

Pompey had no idea of this deciſive ſtep, nor was he by any means prepared to meet the diſciplined and victorious forces that acknowledged the command of Cæſar. He firſt,

therefore, retired into Campania, attended by the conſuls and the ſenate. And when Cæſar advanced with all his army, Pompey and his followers abandoned Italy, reſolving to levy forces in the eaſtern provinces. Cæſar being every where acknowledged at home, his active ſpirit led him farther. He began with ſecuring Sardinia and Sicily, after which he paſſed into Spain, which having with difficulty reduced, he returned to Rome.

Pompey was accompanied by moſt of the ſenators, and as he acted in concert with them, keeping up all the forms of the conſtitution, it gave him many advantages. On the other hand, Cæſar was poſſeſſed of the affections of the people, and what was at preſent of ſtill greater conſequence, he had the ſupport of a well diſplined and a victorious army. Greece was now made the ſeat of war, and after ſeveral petty engagements by ſea and land, a deciſive one was fought in the plains, near the city of Pharſalia. This happened in the year 43, on which occaſion Pompey forfeited all his fame as a ſoldier.

Cowardice, or rather a ſtate of diſtraction, made him fly in the very beginning of the action. And the victorious Cæſar, after totally defeating the forces of his antagoniſt, took poſſeſſion of his camp; 15,000 men fell on the part of Pompey, and 24,000 were taken priſoners. But the moderation and humanity of Cæſar, induced him to give freedom to every Roman captive. And Marcus Brutus, who had fought againſt him, and afterwards ſtabbed him, was not only a partaker of this general pardon, but was received into a high degree of favour. Indeed, it is ſuppoſed by many, that Brutus was the ſon of Cæſar, as the latter was well known to have had a connection with the mother of Brutus, though the wife of another.

It was no ſooner known that Pompey had fled by ſea towards Egypt, than Cæſar, with a few of his troops, embarked in purſuit of him. The unfortunate end of the firſt, and the adventures of the latter in Alexandria, I need not repeat. When Cæſar left Egypt, he went againſt Pharnaces, the ſon of Mith-

ridates the Great, who had commenced hoſtilities; and having chaſtiſed him, he returned to Rome. During his abſence, both ſenate and people vied in heaping honours upon the victor. They declared him conſul for five years, and Dictator for one; making him at the ſame time, the head of the tribunes of the people for life. And Marc Antony, Cæſar's general of horſe, was deſired to govern Italy in the abſence of the conqueror.

Notwithſtanding the clemency ſhewn at Pharſalia, many were doubtful of the uſe Cæſar would make of his exorbitant power. The bloody deeds of Marius and Sylla, were freſh in the memories of all. But he ſoon baniſhed theſe apprehenſions; and Cicero, who had ſided with Pompey, and who had been formerly baniſhed at his inſtigation, was one of the firſt whom he received into favour. He forgave the moſt of his enemies, almoſt without being ſolicited, and he rewarded his friends to their perfect ſatisfaction. For a time however, Antony was in a little diſgrace with him, though he had ſo early eſ-

pouſed his cauſe. But this aroſe from a virtuous motive, it being meant as a ſlight puniſhment for his improper conduct in the government of Italy, whilſt intruſted to his care.

Cato had the command of fifteen cohorts at Dyrrachium, when the battle of Pharſalia took place. Being uncertain of the fate of Pompey, after that fatal day, this great and virtuous Roman thought it adviſeable to paſs with theſe forces into the iſland of Corcyra, where the fleet of his party was ſtationed. There he found Cneius Pompey, the ſon of the triumvirate, together with Cicero, and many others, who eſcaped from Pharſalia. Cato, who had never been conſul, then offered Cicero the command, as he had filled that dignity. But Cicero, who was anxious to make his peace with Cæſar, refuſed it; which ſo provoked young Pompey, that he would have ſlain him had not Cato interpoſed. And that generous man, though Cicero was about to deſert the cauſe

he himſelf eſpouſed, procured the orator a private conveyance into Italy.

Cato paſſed over from Corcyra to Africa, where he erected at Utica, an epitome of the Roman republic. He there reſigned the command to Scipio, who joined them, and was of conſular dignity. This was a rule in ſimilar caſes, and all the ſolicitations of the ſoldiers could not make Cato infringe what he deemed the law. They received a conſiderable ſupport in this quarter, by the junction of the Mauritanians, under Juba their king. And Cæſar had ſomething more to do before he was the ſole director of the Roman empire.

This work was ſoon begun by that enterprizing conqueror, who went in perſon againſt this remnant of his enemies. For ſome time he was rather unſucceſsful, and more than once in eminent danger. His good fortune, however, in the end prevailed. And having driven all their forces from the field, he prepared to inveſt the city of Utica, which alone oppoſed him. Cato would have

held out to the laſt; but the ſenate reſolving on ſubmiſſion, he determined to put an end to his life. Before he executed this deſign, he got conveyances, from the port, for ſuch as did not chooſe to try the clemency of Cæſar. And when he had finiſhed ſuch ſervices as he could render to others, he fell on his ſword and expired.

Cato is juſtly celebrated for his virtues. Beſides his courage and capacity, he was a ſtrenuous friend to the liberties of his country. Though his efforts were ineffectual, he had uniformly oppoſed the corruption and venality, which he ſaw muſt end in the deſtruction of the republic. Whilſt he combated againſt the ambition of others, he carefully guarded againſt its influence upon himſelf. His private life was alſo governed by what appeared to him right. And when we conſider, the almoſt univerſal depravity of manners that then prevailed, his purity becomes the more admirable. His putting himſelf to death, muſt not be weighed in the ſame ſcales of ſuicide at the preſent day. He

had not the knowledge of that religion which enjoins a patient ſubmiſſion to the will of God. And according to the Roman notions, ſuch an act was highly meritorious.

Numidia and Mauritania were made a Roman province, after the ſurrender of Utica. And Cæſar having ſettled every thing neceſſary in Africa, repaired to Rome, where freſh honours awaited him. A ſtatue was erected in the capitol next to that of Jupiter, inſcribed to Cæſar the Demi-God; but theſe words were ſtruck out by his orders. A more ſolid token of his ſucceſs was given, by the ſenate and people appointing him Dictator for the ſpace of ten years, which gave him the moſt abſolute power, with the ſanction of law. Four magnificent triumphs were then performed by him, in which his vaſt riches were diſplayed. And his own deſires being thus gratified, he reſolved to return the compliment to his army and the people.

To every private ſoldier he beſtowed 150l. of our money. The Centurions got double,

and the military tribunes and commanders in the cavalry, treble that ſum. To the people he likewiſe made conſiderable preſents. He alſo entertained them with various plays and diverſions; and on one occaſion, 2000 gladiators were exhibited in combats on the water and by land. Beſides theſe gratifications, he feaſted them with the moſt delicate foods, which were accompanied by delicious liquors. And by ſuch means, the bulk of the degenerate Romans were brought to become the willing ſlaves of Cæſar.

Except a few diſturbances in Syria, the empire was now brought to a very general tranquility. Cæſar ſeized this interval from war, to enact ſome very wholeſome laws, and to ſeek out thoſe knights and ſenators moſt conſpicuous for their probity, to adminiſter juſtice. As great errors had crept into the Roman calendar, he alſo gave his attention to the rectifying it, making it very near what it now is. Auguſtus Cæſar afterwards made a trivial alteration, which brought it to

365 days and ſix hours for each year. And in order to prevent fractions, three years were to have only 365 days, and every fourth to have an additional day. This was however a little erroneous, and in the year of Chriſt 1582, Pope Gregory the 13th, made another alteration. The real courſe of the earth round the ſun for a year, takes up no more than 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes. A variation from the truth of ten days, had therefore happened from the time of Auguſtus, which Gregory remedied, by making the firſt of October, in the year 1582, ſtand for the eleventh. And then to keep it right, he ordered one day at the end of every century to be omitted, except at the expiration of every fourth century; for the eleven minutes do not amount to a day in leſs than 131 years. And this makes it ſo very near exact, that it does not ſeem probable any other change will ever happen in the ſolar computation.

Cæſar was rouſed from theſe peaceable occupations, by the news of a formidable ene-

my in Spain. The two ſons of Pompey had there drawn together, the remnant of their father's followers. To oppoſe them, Cæſar, as uſual, headed his forces; when after ſome unimportant actions, he fought a deciſive one on the plains of Munda. In this battle, Cæſar was once in the utmoſt danger, and very near being defeated, though he at length obtained the victory. Both the Pompeys eſcaped from the field, but the elder ſoon after loſt his life. Nor was the younger able to renew the war in Spain.

Having ſettled the affairs of that country, Cæſar once more reviſited Italy. He was now made Dictator for life, and ſtiled Imperator. To preſerve the favour of the people, he, however, amuſed them with all their ancient forms. Every officer to which they had been uſed, was appointed; and in order to have the better opportunity of gratifying his particular friends, he increaſed their number. The ſenate, which was before limited to 300, he trebled. The Prætors were increaſed to

ſixteen—the Quæſtors to forty, and other magiſtrates in proportion. He continued to entertain and feaſt the people; nor did he neglect thoſe whom he had cauſe to deem his enemies, for he endeavoured to ſoften their reſentment by the kindeſt and moſt lenient conduct. Nay he extended his generoſity to the dead, cauſing the ſtatues of Pompey, which had been thrown down, to be reſtored. In return for ſuch a conduct, the ſenate and people, with great juſtice, voted a temple to clemency, in honour of Julius Cæſar. For, however improperly, he obtained the ſupreme power; no man ever uſed ſuch an authority with more moderation, than this celebrated Roman.

Cæſar, with all his abilities, had a weakneſs that coſt him his life. Not contented with the reality of power, he ſighed in private for the title of a king and the bauble of a crown. And ſuch is the force of ſounds, that the people who had chearfully ſurrendered the ſubſtance, were extremely averſe to the name and ornaments of royalty. However, in or-

der to feel their pulſe, Antony was inſtructed to offer Cæſar a crown, during the celebration of a feaſt called Lupercalia. On its being preſented, Cæſar put it back with his hand two different times, at which the people preſent teſtified the higheſt approbation. But Cæſar could not conceal the diſpleaſure that he felt at ſuch a proof of the general ſentiment. On another occaſion, Diadems having been placed on his ſtatues,—thoſe who had done ſo, were puniſhed by the tribunes; and here again Cæſar betrayed his real ſentiments, by diſmiſſing them from their office. The ſenate was alſo offended at Cæſar's receiving them on his ſeat, when they waited on him in a body. And though he afterwards apologized for it, aſcribing his not riſing to a want of preſence of mind, occaſioned by the falling ſickneſs to which he was ſubject, it did not remove the impreſſion. At length a conſpiracy was formed againſt him, headed by Caius Caſſius and Marcus Brutus. The firſt was inſtigated by malice

and reſentment; but the latter is univerſally allowed to have had no other motive than the love of Rome and liberty.

Cæſar had formed the vaſt deſign of conquering Parthia, from whence he reſolved to march through Scythia, and return by Germany to Rome. When on the eve of commencing this expedition, his particular friends determined to get a decree of the ſenate, allowing him the title of king every where but in Italy. To ſupport this deſign, it was alledged, that the Sybelline oracles declared, none but a king could ever conquer Parthia. A day was therefore appointed for his attending the ſenate to receive this honour. But before it was even propoſed, the conſpirators, who were all ſenators, gave him 23 ſtabs. It is ſaid, he reſiſted till he ſaw Brutus ſtrike; when exclaiming,—and you too, Brutus,—he fell at the foot of Pompey's ſtatue, and inſtantly expired.

All ancient hiſtory is full of oracles and ſigns, denoting the death of the greateſt perſonages. We may however with great rea-

ſon, doubt the truth of ſuch predictions, as are recorded of very remote times, and in countries where ignorance abounded. But theſe objections cannot be made to thoſe things which are tranſmitted to us as attending the death of Cæſar. It happened in an age peculiarly diſtinguiſhed for its literature; and ſome of the greateſt latin writers, very ſoon after recorded the accounts of it. If therefore we can credit any thing beyond the proof of living witneſſes, we muſt admit, that many things out of the common courſe of nature, preceded Cæſar's aſſaſſination. A ſoothſayer had more than once bade him beware the ides of March, the time in which he fell. Both he, and his wife Calphurnia, had the moſt terrifying dreams, repreſenting the manner of his death. The very night before it, the doors and windows of his chambers flew open of themſelves, and a ſudden light broke in upon him. A beaſt that was ſacrificed by his orders, that the prieſts might divine from it, was found without a heart.

and many aſtoniſhing meteors were ſeen in the heavens. In ſhort the circumſtances attending this event, which was to be followed with ſuch dreadful conſequences to the Romans, would of themſelves prove the exiſtence of Spiritual Beings. And likewiſe, that there is an unſeen management and direction of all the affairs of this world.

Julius Cæſar was ſlain in the 56th year of his age, and about 41 years prior to the birth of Chriſt. He was remarkable for his oratory and learning, and was himſelf a very excellent writer. Endowed with courage, generoſity, humanity, and great abilities, he ſhone both in civil and warlike affairs. From theſe perfections, muſt be deducted his ambition, and the faults which accompanied its gratification, together with his luſts; ſome of which, according to the abominable and almoſt univerſal practice of the Romans, were unnatural. But as Rome was now incapable of freedom, he ſeems to have been the fitteſt of all his cotemporaries to be its maſter.

And his death, inſtead of reſtoring freedom, was highly deſtructive to his country.

The conſternation at Rome was prodigious. Thoſe who were attached to the republican government, rejoiced at the event, whilſt the people at large loved Cæſar, and lamented his cataſtrophe. In this ſituation, the ſenate endeavoured to reſtore the public tranquility, by taking a middle courſe. An act of oblivion was paſſed as to Cæſar's death. And they at the ſame time confirmed all his laws and regulations, with every direction left by him, as to future appointments in the ſtate.

Cæſar having made a will, in which the people were concerned, Antony propoſed in the ſenate, that it ſhould be publickly read. He alſo moved, that the higheſt funeral honours, ſhould be paid to their late dictator; in both of which he was ſupported by a powerful party. On the other hand, the conſpirators and thoſe of republican principles, were againſt Antony's propoſitions. But

Brutus, who was of a noble and unſuſpecting nature, yielding, the oppoſition was dropped. And Antony not only obtained what he firſt wanted, but it was alſo added, that Cæſar ſhould henceforth be worſhipped as a God.

By Cæſar's will, Octavius, his grand nephew, was adopted as his ſon, and three fourths of his fortune were bequeathed to him. Several of the conſpirators were alſo particularly remembered. But the people were raiſed almoſt to madneſs, when they found that Cæſar had left them, not only his fine gardens for their amuſement, but alſo 75 Attic Drachma's to every individual. To appeaſe the fury he ſaw riſing, Brutus addreſſed the multitude. He explained the danger with which Cæſar's ambition had threatened them. And for a time their paſſion ſubſided. This was contrary to the intentions of Antony. He therefore cauſed the dead body to be produced, that he might ſpeak the funeral oration. In doing ſo, by a moſt arful eloquence, he however ſo blended Cæſar's good actions with the manner of his

death, and the love he bore to the people, that he rouſed them to a degree of rage and revenge, that became irreſiſtible. They tore down the benches of the Forum, where they were aſſembled, with which they raiſed a funeral pile, and conſumed the body of their beloved patron. Having paid this honour to Cæſar, they ſnatched up the burning wood in order to conſume the houſes of the conſpirators. And ſuch was their fury, that meeting one Cinna, a poet, they put him to death for another Cinna, who was concerned in ſtabbing Cæſar. As for the real conſpirators they eſcaped, by flying with the utmoſt precipitation. The people then raiſed an altar on the ſpot where the body had been burned, at the ſame time performing divine honours. And Octavius afterwards erected a temple there, with a pillar, on which was inſcribed,—To the father of his country.

Antony having been named to the conſulate for this year, by Cæſar, took poſſeſſion of that office. Though he had inſtigated the late riot, he now tried and put to death

ſeveral who had been moſt active on that occaſion, in order to ingratiate himſelf with the ſenate. And for the ſame purpoſe, he propoſed what he knew would not be effected. This was the recall of Sextus Pompeius, the ſurviving ſon of Pompey the Great, and to give him the ſame extenſive appointments which his father had formerly poſſeſſed. Taken in by theſe appearances, Antony's own deſigns were unſuſpected. The ſenate conſidered him as their friend, and as the people at this time loudly accuſed him of ingratitude to Cæſar, that aſſembly was the more confirmed in this opinion. The next ſtep of Antony, was a complaint to the ſenate, of his life being in danger. By ſuch repreſentations, he obtained leave to have a guard about his perſon. And under this pretence, he entertained no leſs than 6000 of the old legionaries, who had formerly ſerved under him and Cæſar.

Antony now contrived to bring the ſecretary of Cæſar over to his intereſts; after which he removed to his own houſe all the

papers, and alſo the wealth of the deceaſed. The ſenate, as you have ſeen, confirmed every appointment made by the late Dictator. It was well known, that Cæſar had fixed the magiſtrates for ſeveral years, as he was going on ſo arduous an undertaking. But as the names of the perſons to fill them, had not been promulgated, Antony and the ſecretary did what they pleaſed, paſſing it for the act of Cæſar. And thus, in fact, Antony was at this time uncontrouled at Rome.

Octavius the Grand, nephew of Cæſar by the female line, was at Apollonia, when he heard of his uncle's death. Though only eighteen years old, he immediately reſolved to viſit Italy. Brunduſium, near which he landed, was full of troops that had been deſtined for the Parthian war. And transferring their attachment to the adopted ſon of Cæſar, they offered him their ſervices, at the ſame time putting him in poſſeſſion of very large military ſtores, and a very conſiderable ſum of money.

In his way to Rome Octavius entered into

a treaty with Cicero, by which they were mutually to aid each other; the latter by his eloquence and the former by his protection. In Campania Octavius was joined by vaſt numbers of Cæſar's immediate adherents; and as he drew near to the capital, the magiſtrates, ſenators, and principal citizens went out to meet him, Antony alone excepted. The fact was, that Antony dreaded his approach, and reſolved, if poſſible, to cruſh this riſing and this formidable rival.

Octavius began with demanding the fortune Cæſar had bequeathed him. Antony, however, under one pretence or other, not only withheld the ready money, which he had poſſeſſed himſelf of, but he alſo threw very great obſtacles in his way as to the real eſtates. This the policy of Octavius, now ſtiled Caius Julius Cæſar Octavianus, or Octavius, turned to his advantage. He pointed out to the people the injuſtice with which he was treated. He then told them, that they ſhould not ſuffer from his uncle's fortune being withheld, for he would pay

them their legacies out of his own. And to prove his ſincerity, he immediately in part diſcharged them.

Having thus ſecured the affections of the people, Octavius was able to contend with Antony. And the latter thought it beſt to come to a temporary accommodation, during which he got himſelf appointed to the command of the forces in Gaul. New diſputes and new reconciliations however took place between theſe rivals for power, till at length both had recourſe to arms. Antony being abſent, Octavius entered Rome at the head of an army, though he was not inveſted with any one appointment of the ſtate. Notwithſtanding this, Cicero exerted all his eloquence in favour of Octavius, at the ſame time that he uttered the moſt vehement accuſations againſt Antony. And the ſenate, who equally hated Octavius and his competitor, being awed by the forces of the former, declared Antony an enemy to his country.

The pretence for this vote was, that Decimus Brutus, though one of the conſpirators,

had been appointed by Julius Cæſar to the command in Ciſalpine Gaul, notwithſtanding which, Antony took that poſt under a ſubſequent vote of the people. The two Conſuls, Hirtius and Panſa, who had been ordered to reduce Antony, were now defeated, and loſt their lives in the attempt. But Decimus Brutus, with his forces, proving more ſucceſsful, Antony was obliged to retreat into Tranſalpine Gaul.

The ſenate, which ſecretly favoured the conſpirators, on this occaſion paid ſome particular honours to Decimus Brutus. This very highly offended Octavius, who was at the head of a very conſiderable army, and he meditated vengeance. For this purpoſe he began a ſecret correſpondence with Antony, on the ſubject of uniting their forces. And no doubt he perceived that it was abſolutely neceſſary, if he meant to ſuppreſs the republicans, as Brutus and Caſſius were at this time raiſing both men and money in the eaſtern provinces.

When Antony got beyond the Alps, he

ſolicited a junction with Lepidus, who was at the head of ſeven legions. This, Lepidus refuſed, though he ſuffered Antony to incamp in his neighbourhood. The conſequence was, that Antony, by his addreſs, got the adjacent army ſo entirely of his party, that Lepidus was glad to come in, as the only means of retaining his power. All the forces that were detached in this quarter followed the example. And in a very ſhort time Antony and Lepidus had 23 legions, beſides 10,000 horſe at their command.

When this intelligence arrived at Rome, Lepidus was alſo declared an enemy to his country. To oppoſe the army from Gaul, Decimus Brutus, and Octavius, were ordered to make the neceſſary levies, and to take the field. By this authority Octavius greatly augmented his troops, and the firſt uſe he made of them was to terrify the ſenate; for they now appointed him Conſul, though that honour had juſt before been refuſed him. At the ſame time Octavius ſhewed a coolneſs for Cicero, that preſaged his ſubſequent fate.

And it is allowed that the orator, who in his heart was a friend to the conſpirators, had acted equivocally in his pretended attachment to Octavius Cæſar.

One of the firſt acts of the new Conſul and his colleague, who was a creature of his own, was a public condemnation of all the conſpirators. This involved in it Decimus Brutus, though at the head of an army in Ciſalpine Gaul, which was apparently on the ſame ſide with Octavius. But it was only apparently, for Antony and Lepidus, by appointment, now paſſed the Alps, and the army of Brutus deſerting him, he was ſoon after taken and put to death. The ſecret correſpondence between Octavius and his ſuppoſed enemies being ſtill unknown, he marched as if to give them battle. And having encamped very near them, as had been preconcerted, he met Antony and Lepidus in a ſmall iſland on the river Rhenus. There they fixed on the terms of their union, the chief articles of which were as follow: They were to divide the whole power of the ſtate

amongſt them. Antony was to have the government of Ciſalpine and Tranſalpine Gaul, Narbonne excepted. Narbonne and the two Spains were to be under Lepidus. Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily were allotted to Octavius. And Italy, with the eaſtern provinces, were left in common. Lepidus was to continue at Rome, whilſt the other two ſhould lead the forces againſt Brutus and Caſſius. They then fixed on a number of the chief men, who ſhould be immediately proſcribed. In doing this they agreed not to oppoſe the doom of any one named by any of the three, let the connexion be ever ſo near, or the friendſhip ever ſo ſtrong. Beſides thoſe who were to bleed to their ſafety and reſentment, others were doomed on account of their riches; for as all that fell were to forfeit what they poſſeſſed, this was one of the modes fixed on for filling the coffers of this deteſtable triumvirate.

Having decided what immediately related to themſelves, their next object was to ſecure the fidelity of the ſoldiery. They therefore

agreed, that as ſoon as Brutus and Caſſius ſhould be ſubdued, every private legionary was to receive 5000 drachma's. To each centurion 25,000 were to be paid; and the military tribunes were to have double that ſum. And over and above theſe vaſt gratuities, they were all to be provided with houſes and lands in Italy. When this was made known to the troops, they expreſſed the moſt extravagant joy, declaring the utmoſt fidelity and ſtricteſt obedience to the commands of their leaders. The army being thus ſecured, for form ſake, an aſſembly of the people was called at Rome; and by it, the ſupreme authority was veſted in theſe three betrayers of their country.

The horrors that enſued are better conceived than deſcribed; 300 ſenators, and upwards of 2000 knights were doomed to death. Rome and its neighbourhood preſented nothing to the view but ſcenes of blood.—Amongſt thoſe who periſhed was Cicero, who met his fate with more fortitude than his life had promiſed. He was one of the

greateſt orators the world ever produced, Demoſthenes alone being conſidered as his competitor in eloquence. They were, however, very different in their manner. Cicero was full of figure, and more diffuſe and ſubtle in his arguments. On the other hand, Demoſthenes was bold, nervous, and conciſe; and, for my own part, I would rather imitate the latter than the former. Beſides his excellence as a ſpeaker, Cicero was a man of great literature, and ſeveral very fine proſe compoſitions of his have reached our times. Having ſaid thus much of his head, I ſhall add a little on the ſubject of his heart. It appears that he was ſtrongly inclined to virtue, and alſo a lover of his country. But he had a natural timidity, which counteracted his good intentions. In the conteſt after Cæſar's death, he wavered between his love of freedom and his perſonal ſafety. He thought the ſide of Brutus and Caſſius the weakeſt; and though his heart was with them, his tongue was exerted in favour of Octavius. This was without doubt an un-

manly part; but we ought not to be too ſevere in our cenſures. As I before ſaid, it was his misfortune to be timid. And I believe the greateſt fauits of this celebrated Roman, aroſe from fears he was not able to controul. He was ſlain in the 64th year of his age, and his head and right hand were brought to Antony. Both he and his wife, on ſeeing them, expreſſed the moſt indecent joy, adding inſults to theſe poor remains. And they were then placed on that roſtra from which Cicero had ſo often diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

Brutus and Caſſius having aſſembled their forces at Sardis in Aſia Minor, paſſed from thence into Europe. To oppoſe them, Antony and Octavius likewiſe croſſed the ſeas with their forces, making Greece and Macedon the ſeat of war. After ſome trivial manœuvres, the two armies encamped on the plains of Philippi. For ſome time they remained inactive, though in view of each other; but Brutus at length reſolved on an engagement, though contrary to the advice

of Caſſius. In the action that followed, the wing which Caſſius commanded was beat by Antony. But Brutus was equally ſucceſsful againſt Octavius, who, inſtead of leading on his wing, concealed himſelf before the engagement commenced. And this battle being totally indeciſive, both armies returned to their former ſtations.

The ſole command now devolved on Brutus; for Caſſius being ignorant of his colleague's ſucceſs, had, after his own defeat, raſhly put an end to himſelf. Brutus's fleet, at this time, beat the enemy's, which occaſioned a great ſcarcity of proviſions in the camps of Antony and Octavius. He therefore ſought to avoid a ſecond engagement, as much as he had favoured the firſt. But Brutus was forced by the impatience of his army to reſolve on another action.

The ſecond battle of Philippi proved fatal to the cauſe of the conſpirators. In it many brave Romans fell, and amongſt others Marcus Cato, the ſon of Cato, who ſlew himſelf at Utica, and who was alſo a zealous friend

to the republic. As for Brutus he eſcaped from the field, but finding all was over, he ſlew himſelf, having lived near 43 years. When his remains were brought before the victors, Octavius, who had ſo lately cowardly hid himſelf from the living Brutus, baſely inſulted his dead body. He likewiſed cauſed numbers who were taken, to be put to death. But Antony behaved with moderation, and in ſome inſtances he even acted with generoſity.

It is related by the beſt hiſtorians, that a ſpectre or ghoſt appeared two different times to Brutus, telling him it was his evil genius, and would meet him at Philippi. That Brutus ſaid ſo, cannot be doubted ; and from his character, no man could be ſuppoſed freere from a weakneſs of imagination. The ſubſequent events alſo juſtified the prediction; nor was it by any means certain, that an action would have taken place at Philippi when the ſpectre firſt appeared to him, it having happened at Sardis, in Aſia Minor.

The ſucceſs of this battle, which was fought

in the year 37, put the triumvirate in poſſeſſion of the whole empire, Sicily excepted. In that iſland Sextus Pompey was ſtill at the head of a formidable power. Octavius, therefore, returned to Italy, with a view to ſubdue him, whilſt Antony paſſed into Aſia to ſettle the Eaſtern provinces. Here, as you have before ſeen, he was captivated by the Egyptian Queen. And leaving every thing to his lieutenants, he repaired to Alexandria.

When Octavius relanded in Italy, he immediately ſet about the performance of the promiſe made to the ſoldiery. Numbers of the Italians were diſpoſſeſſed of their lands and houſes to make room for them, which occaſioned various diſputes, not only with the unfortunate inhabitants, but amongſt the ſoldiers themſelves. Thoſe who had more particularly belonged to Antony, alledged, Octavius had been partial to his own. In this they were joined by Fulvia the wife, and L. Antonius, the brother of Antony; till at length a mutiny took place,

which was quelled by Octavius with the greateſt difficulty.

Amongſt thoſe who were diſpoſſeſſed by the ſoldiers, was Virgil, the celebrated Latin poet. He had a farm near Mantua, which was taken from him; and at the ſame time he very narrowly eſcaped with his life. But going to Rome, he found protection from Mæcenas and Aſinius Pollio, both of whom, but particularly the former, were friends to literature; and at their interceſſion, his property was reſtored to him.

Octavius ſoon after this exaſperated Fulvia, the wife of Antony, beyond meaſure. In order to ſtrengthen the union of the Triumvirate, he had formerly married Clodia, the daughter of Fulvia, whom he now divorced, ſwearing at the ſame time, that ſhe was yet a virgin, as for him. Fulvia on this, put herſelf at the head of Antony's followers, forming a camp at Præneſte. And Lucius Antonius took poſt in the city of Peraſia. It was beſieged and taken by Octavius; when Fulvia thought proper to retire into

Greece. For a ſhort time after, Tiberius Claudius Nero defended Antony's cauſe. But finding himſelf unſupported, he took ſhelter in Sicily, together with his wife Livia and his ſon Tiberius, who was afterwards Emperor. Thus ended this ſhort civil war in the year 35.

Antony was at length rouſed from his infatuation. He ſet out for Italy, making Athens his route, where he met his wife Fulvia. He accuſed her of being the cauſe of all the misfortunes which had lately happened. And ſhe certainly had provoked Octavius without being prepared for him; one cauſe of which, was the deſire of drawing her huſband from the arms of Cleopatra. It did not however anſwer her expectations, for Antony left her ſick behind him, which, added to her grief at his unkindneſs, put an end to her life. As for Antony, he was fortunate enough to be joined by Domitius Ahenobarbus, who commanded a fleet of the republican party. And they began with be-

ſieging Brunduſium in Italy, which was garriſoned by the ſoldiers of Octavius.

Theſe hoſtilities were of ſhort duration. By the interference of ſome common friends, a reconciliation took place. And in order to render it laſting, Octavia, the ſiſter of Octavius, lately become a widow, was given in marriage to Antony. She was extremely beautiful, and poſſeſſed of all thoſe qualities which render women truly eſtimable. But perfections like theſe were thrown away on ſuch a debauchee as Antony.

In conſequence of theſe nuptials, a new arrangement took place as to the empire. All the countries weſtward of Codropolis, a town in Illyricum, was to belong to Octavius. Thoſe to the eaſtward were allotted to Antony. Italy was to remain in common. And as for Lepidus, he was to have no more than part of Africa, from the kingdom of Cyrene to the Atlantic, where he at preſent commanded.

Pompey, who had a very powerful fleet, and was poſſeſſed of Sicily, had reduced

Rome to great ſtreights, by withholding the uſual ſupplies of corn. This created great murmurings amongſt the people, and an interview was ſolicited with Pompey, by Octavius and Antony. It accordingly took place on the coaſt of Italy. The conſequence was, an agreement, by which Sicily, Sardinia, Corſica, and the adjacent iſlands, were to belong to Pompey; and Peloponneſus was alſo to be delivered up to him. He was likewiſe to be allowed to demand the conſulate at Rome, and to ſerve that office by a deputy. The dignity of Pontifex Maximus, was to be conferred on him, and he was to receive 70,000 great Seſterces, on account of the confiſcation of his father's fortune. Pompey alſo provided for the return of them who had relied on him for protection. Such as had taken ſhelter with him merely from fear, were to be fully reſtored to their poſſeſſions. Thoſe who had been proſcribed, but who had no actual hand in the death of Julius Cæſar, were alſo to be admitted to Rome, and one

fourth of their property was to be returned. Theſe were the chief articles of this convention, and they were ſolemnly ratified by all the parties.

Buſineſs being over, they agreed to entertain each other by turns. It fell to Pompey's lot to give the firſt, which was provided on board his ſhip, a temporary bridge being thrown from her to the ſhore. When all were merry with wine, Menas, an officer of Pompey, propoſed to him to carry them off, and thereby render himſelf maſter of the world. Pompey however nobly rejected ſo perfidious a ſcheme; and after his feaſt had been returned on ſhore by Octavius and Antony, they parted with mutual vows of friendſhip.

Antony, accompanied by Octavia, again quitted Italy, wintering at Athens, whilſt the Parthian war was entruſted to Ventidius, his lieutenant. Octavius repaired to Rome, where he ſoon after became enamoured of Livia, the wife of Claudius Tiberius Nero. Nero had regained his country by means of

Pompey's late treaty; and he probably did not chuſe to oppoſe the inclinations of Octavius. But certain it is, that the latter divorced his then wife Scribonia, and married Livia, though ſhe was big with child to Nero when theſe extraordinary nuptials were celebrated.

Pompey and Octavius did not long continue on good terms. Their miſunderſtanding at length terminated in open hoſtilities. For ſome time the arms of Octavius were very ſucceſsful. He afterwards, however, loſt two engagements by ſea, and thoſe ſhips that eſcaped the enemy, were moſtly deſtroyed in a ſubſequent ſtorm.

In this diſtreſs, Antony was requeſted to come to the aid of Octavius. But before his arrival, Agrippa, who commanded in Gaul, having ſettled ſome dangerous commotions in that quarter, Octavius repented of his invitation. This ended in Antony's being offended at the coolneſs with which he was received. Octavia however reſtored them to

good terms with each other. Antony then ſet out to command in perſon againſt the Parthians. And Octavia being great with child, remained at Rome till affairs ſhould be perfectly ſettled in her huſband's diviſion of the empire.

The war between Octavius and Pompey, was attended with various ſucceſs, till at length Lepidus, in ſupport of the former, arrived in Sicily with a conſiderable force from Africa. This turned the ſcale, and Octavius having alſo made good a landing on that iſland, their joint forces beſieged Pompey in the city of Meſſana. The fleets of the contending parties were notwithſtanding ſtill nearly equal, and it was agreed to try their ſtrength on that element. The conteſt was long and bloody, but it ended in the total defeat of Pompey. This ſucceſs was entirely owing to the courage and conduct of Agrippa. For Octavius in the very beginning of the engagement, lay down in the bottom of his ſhip, where he remained till the action was over. The apo-

logy afterwards made by his friends, was, that he was ſeized with a ſudden and deep ſleep. But his former conduct at Philippi, leaves no room to doubt of his cowardice.

Pompey having fled with a few ſhips that were left him, Meſſana very ſoon ſurrendered, and all Sicily ſubmitted to the conquerors. A civil broil however took place. Octavius not being preſent when Meſſana ſurrendered, Lepidus incorporated all the legions he found there, and which had ſerved under Pompey, into his own army. By this manœuvre, he ſaw himſelf at the head of 22 legions, which was infinitely ſuperior to the force under Octavius. He therefore reſolved to oblige his colleague to give him his full third of the empire. Octavius for a time appeared to comply, entering into a negociation on that ſubject, whilſt he was underhand corrupting the chief officers of Lepidus. This he accompliſhed ſo effectually, that the whole army of his competitor declared for him. Lepidus, who was

both weak and timid, threw himſelf on the mercy of Octavius. And as he was no object of fear, he was granted his life, beſides the enjoyment of his private fortune.

Octavius had by theſe means acquired a moſt formidable army. But their expectations were ſo high, and their diſpoſitions ſo turbulent, that he was glad to diſband the greateſt part of it. By the conqueſt of Sicily, plenty was reſtored at Rome. And as Octavius had the credit of it, he was received with the higheſt honours. This popularity he endeavoured to increaſe by every poſſible means, in order to undermine Antony, who was the only obſtacle to his becoming the ſole maſter of the Roman empire.

Pompey landed in Aſia, after his defeat in Sicily, where he attempted to revive his party. To this he was encouraged by the news of Antony's ill ſucceſs againſt the Parthians, and that he had again abandoned himſelf to the charms of Cleopatra. He was, however, in a ſhort time defeated by one of Antony's lieutenants, and ſoon after put to death.

Octavia had gone as far as Athens in her way to join her huſband, when ſhe received orders from him to return to Rome. This ſhe complied with without a murmur, and her correct behaviour in every thing, made the conduct of Antony ſtill more odious. He was indeed become extremely unpopular in Italy, which was greatly increaſed by his entering Alexandria in triumph, an honour which they conceived belonged to Rome alone. All theſe things were heightened by the intrigues and accuſations of Octavius. Other allegations and charges were made by Antony againſt his rival. And at length hoſtilities were openly declared.

Epheſus was the place were Antony directed his forces to aſſemble. Thither he was accompanied by Cleopatra, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his beſt friends. From Epheſus he proceeded to the iſland of Samos, where he gave himſelf up to an exceſs of pleaſure that is hardly credible. Every kind of amuſement was blended with his warlike preparations. Veſſels from all quar-

ters, crouded with players, buffoons, and different kinds of artiſts, daily arrived. The tributary kings, who ſerved under him, vied with each other in their ſhews and entertainments. And every ſpecies of extravagance and diſſipation was carrying on at Samos, as if the reveller Antony had already proved victorious.

From Samos, he paſſed over to Athens, where he abandoned himſelf to ſimilar purſuits. Whilſt there, he divorced the virtuous Octavia, by which he loſt his few remaining friends at Rome. He was alſo deſerted by many who were immediately about him, owing to the haughtineſs and unbecoming inſolence of Cleopatra. A paper war at this time commenced between Antony and Octavius. The former accuſed the latter of impiety, luſt, and cowardice. He particulariſed his having once preſided as Apollo, whilſt other men and women repreſented the reſt of the twelve great Deities, at an entertainment attended with the groſſeſt debaucheries. Octavius, in return, accuſed him of

his exceſſes, and his treatment of Octavia. Neither mentioned the blood they had ſo unjuſtly ſhed, and probably, it was becauſe it would have been difficult to prove which had been moſt guilty.

A more active ſcene ſucceeded this empty conteſt. Antony having taken poſt near Actium, a city of Greece, ſituated at the entrance of the Ambrocian gulph, Octavius fixed himſelf on the oppoſite ſhore. The fleets of both co-operated with their reſpective land forces, and the ſea which divided their camps was very narrow. Whilſt they remained in this ſituation, Agrippa, with a flying ſquadron, on board of which was a ſmall body of land forces, gained many advantages for Octavius: For with his armament, he ravaged ſeveral parts of the Grecian coaſt. On the other hand, Antony was unſucceſsful in all the trivial encounters that happened. And this appearance of a declining fortune, induced numbers to deſert him. To give a turn to his affairs, he therefore reſolved on a ſea engagement. This was

oppoſed by many of his beſt officers, but Cleopatra, who was attended by the Egyptian fleet, being for it, their advice was deſpiſed and neglected. The action, which Cleopatra had thus occaſioned, was ſcarcely commenced, when overcome by her fears, ſhe fled with the Egyptian ſquadron; and Antony, forgetful of all that he owed to his fame, to his fortunes, and to his faithful followers, was the companion of her flight. Notwithſtanding this deſertion of their leader, the fleet which he left behaved with the greateſt bravery. Overcome by the ſuperior force of Octavius, they were however at length obliged to yield; which was immediately followed by the ſubmiſſion of the army near Actium. And thus, in the year 26 before Chriſt, the fate of the Roman empire was decided.

Octavius, following his victory, laid ſiege to Alexandria, where Antony and Cleopatra met with that fate which you are already acquainted with. Having ſettled affairs in the eaſt, Octavius then repaired to Rome. There

he celebrated three magnificent triumphs, in which he diſplayed ſuch immenſe wealth, that the intereſt of money inſtantly fell from ten to four per cent.

Sole maſter of the Roman empire, Octavius meditated a reſignation of the ſupreme authority almoſt in the moment he obtained it. The fate of Julius Cæſar filled his ſoul with terror; whilſt the example of Sylla's abdication gave him room to look for ſafety by a ſimilar conduct. Undecided in himſelf, he conſulted Agrippa and Mæcenas, two men whom he moſt relied on. The firſt, who was a man of worth and virtue, adviſed him to reſtore the liberty of Rome. The latter argued on the other hand, that the ſituation of affairs would not permit it, and that it was inconſiſtent with his private ſafety. This opinion, ſtrengthened by his natural ambition, prevailed. But at the ſame time Octavius reſolved to make the yoke ſit light upon the Romans, and by every poſſible means to conciliate their affections.

In the year 22 before Chriſt, the ſenate

and people united in voting Octavius abſolute power, at the ſame time beſtowing on him the title of Auguſtus. This form being paſſed through, for they could not do otherwiſe, Octavius, now Auguſtus Cæſar, rewarded and regulated his army. He kept 25 legions on foot, as the conſtant eſtabliſhment; and they were diſtributed in thoſe provinces which bounded the empire. The diſbanded ſoldiers he divided into 32 colonies, all of which he ſettled in Italy, ſo that, if occaſion required, he knew where to raiſe an army almoſt on the inſtant. And for the immediate protection of himſelf and the city, he had twelve cohorts, conſiſting of 10,000 men. Three of theſe cohorts were called Urbanæ, and nine of them Prætorian, but were generally altogether diſtinguiſhed by the latter appellation. On the ſea, two fleets were conſtantly kept up. And theſe armaments were deemed ſufficient, except when extraordinary occaſions ſhould call for more vigorous exertions.

Agreeable to his ſcheme of rendering him-

ſelf pleaſing, Auguſtus concealed his power under all the ancient forms. Conſuls, and all the other magiſtrates, were elected at the ſtated times. The ſenate met as uſual, and though the will of Auguſtus actually did every thing, theſe appearances were extremely ſoothing and agreeable. In purſuit of the ſame plan, the provinces were diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts; the one Senatorial—the other Imperial. To the firſt, which were all near home, and in which there were no armies ſtationed, he allowed the ſenate to appoint governors out of their own body. To the latter he himſelf appointed all officers, thereby delicately ſecuring the continuance of his power. And the ſenate and people were probably ſincere in the honours they heaped upon him, one of which was the appellation of Father of his Country.

The fame of Auguſtus had extended itſelf ſo far, that ambaſſadors waited on him from the Scythians, Sarmatians, Indians, and the Seres, all of whom courted his alliance. The Seres are ſuppoſed to be the ſame of the

Chineſe. And this is the firſt trace we find of that people in ancient hiſtory.

Some trivial revolts were ſuppreſſed in Spain. An unſucceſsful attempt upon the Arabs was made by the governor of Egypt. And a trivial war with the Ethiopians, ended in that people's ſoliciting and obtaining a peace from Auguſtus.

Notwithſtanding the politic conduct of the Emperor, a conſpiracy was formed againſt him. Muræna, and Fannius Cæpio were the leaders, but they were diſcovered and put to death. Auguſtus conceived, that nothing could tend more to prevent ſuch attempts in future, than to raiſe up one he could confide in, who would in ſuch a caſe ſucceed him. He therefore made Agrippa divorce a wife he then had, in order to make him his ſon-in-law. And having given him his daughter Julia in marriage, he raiſed Agrippa to the important office of Governor of Rome.

After this arrangement, Auguſtus viſited Greece, from whence he paſſed into Aſia, with a deſign to attack the Parthians. This

was prevented by their reſtoring all the priſoners and trophies taken at the battle of Carrhæ. Auguſtus was farther gratified, by Porus, an Indian king, who ſaid he had 600 petty princes under him, ſoliciting his alliance and friendſhip. And having ſettled affairs in the eaſt, the Emperor returned to Rome.

In Africa, Lucius Cornelius Balbus added ſomewhat to the Roman empire, extending its boundary as far as the river Nigris. Some inſurrections in Germany appearing of conſequence, Agrippa was ordered into that quarter, where he was attended with his uſual ſucceſs, and again repaired to the capital.

Auguſtus was, however, far from eaſy as to his perſonal ſafety. For a time, none were ſuffered to approach him without being ſearched. Several ſenators were degraded, and ſome whom he more ſtrongly ſuſpected put to death. Beſides theſe precautions, he heaped new honours on Agrippa; and that the ſucceſſion in his family might be ſtrengthened, he declared two ſons that Julia had

borne him to be the ſucceſſors to the empire. This conduct was extremely pleaſing to the Romans; for beſides the great and good qualities of Agrippa, he had greatly improved the city of Rome. Amongſt other things, he had built the Pantheon, for the general reception of all the Roman deities. And whilſt he, by this and other acts, endeared himſelf to the people, his ſucceſſes and attention to the ſoldiers that ſerved under him, rendered him the idol of the army. This was far from raiſing any jealouſy in the Emperor, becauſe he knew the virtue of his ſon-in-law. And on the contrary he very juſtly conſidered him as the ſureſt barrier againſt his own deſtruction.

Agrippa was ordered into the eaſt, where ſome diſturbances had ariſen; and Auguſtus went into Gaul to ſettle a revolt. It was occaſioned by the extortions of Enceladus, who received the taxes; but on his paying the Emperor moſt of the plunder, he was continued in his office. This commotion was ſcarcely ſuppreſſed, when the Rhæti, a people

from the Rhine, entered Italy, committing the moſt dreadful ravages. Againſt them Druſus, the ſecond ſon of Livia by Nero, led an army which drove them beyond the Alps. But being joined by the Vindelici and Norici, they turned their arms towards Gaul, where Auguſtus ſtill continued. Theſe nations were the moſt warlike of the Germans, but Druſus being joined by his elder brother Tiberius, they compleatly overthrew them. And not long after this, the Ligures Comati, a people of the maritime Alps, who had yet held out, were reduced and turned into a Roman province.

Auguſtus continued three years abſent from Rome. This was owing to his attachment to Terentia, the wife of his friend Mæcenas, whom he had debauched, and carried along with him: And he did not chooſe to be interrupted in his pleaſures either by the preſence of Mæcenas or his own wife Livia. On his return from this expedition, he took the office of Pontifex Maximus, which had

become vacant; and it ever after belonged to the Emperors.

Agrippa in the eaſt reduced the Boſphorians, ſoon after which he died. The grief at his death was ſincere, and Auguſtus appeared to be deeply afflicted. He left two ſons by Julia, named Caius and Lucius; and a third born after his death, was called after his father. As Caius was too young to ſupply the place of Agrippa, the Emperor reſolved to confide in Tiberius, the ſon of Livia. He therefore ordered him to divorce his then wife, after which he gave him Julia in marriage. Though Julia had long been notorious for the groſſeſt lewdneſs, Tiberius made no objections; and he was ſoon after entruſted with the forces againſt the Panonians, who had revolted. His brother Druſus was continued in Gaul, which he not only kept quiet, but was able to prevail on ſixty Gauliſh nations to erect an altar to Auguſtus, and worſhip him as a deity; and he extended the Roman arms into Frieſland and Weſtphalia, where they had not before penetrat-

ed. Tiberius was likewiſe ſucceſsful in his expedition, and ſome inſurrections in Thrace were quelled by L. Calpurnius Piſo.

Auguſtus having reſolved on the reduction of Germany, paſſed the Alps with his ſons in law Tiberius and Druſus. The firſt he ſent againſt the Daci, and the latter was directed to purſue his conqueſts. Druſus was ſo ſucceſsful, that all the nations between the Rhine and the Elbe were obliged to ſubmit. His career was here to have its end, for a fever deprived him of life. He was eſteemed a man of great virtue, and is ſaid to have meditated a reſtoration of the freedom of his country. On his death, which was greatly lamented, the ſole command of the German war devolved on Tiberius, who was alſo attended with very conſiderable ſucceſs.

On their reviſiting the capital, Auguſtus complimented Livia with a temple, which he erected to her; and at the ſame time he conferred the honour of a triumph on Tiberius. But Auguſtus likewiſe very particularly diſtinguiſhed his grandſons, Caius and Lu-

cius Cæſar. Either piqued at this, or offended at the enormous debaucheries of Julia, Tiberius aſked leave to retire. Having obtained this requeſt with ſome difficulty, he went into Rhodes, where he lived with great privacy. But he ſoon wiſhed himſelf again in the court of Auguſtus, and had the mortification to be denied that favour.

Though Julia had been profligate to an incredible exceſs, it had hitherto been concealed from her father. Her conduct was at length diſcloſed to him, and he is ſaid to have felt the moſt poignant ſorrow. This was ſtill increaſed, when he learned the daughter of Julia, who bore the ſame name, and who had married L. Paulus, imitated her mother's example. He baniſhed them into ſeparate iſlands on the coaſt of Italy, where none were allowed to approach them but by his orders; and they were confined to the plaineſt ſuſtenance. The paramours of his daughter he either exiled or put to death. Vaſt numbers came really under this deſcription. But it is alledged, that ſome

who were innocent partook of the puniſhment, in order that the Emperor might rid himſelf, under this pretence, of men that he dreaded.

To divert his own grief, and to amuſe the people, Auguſtus invented a new entertainment. Chariot races, repreſentations on the ſtage, men combating with lions, tigers, and rhinoceroſes, had long been practiſed; but a fight with crocodiles had never been exhibited. For this purpoſe a canal was formed 1800 paces in length, and 200 in breadth, round which ſeats were provided for the ſpectators. Being filled with water, a great many of crocodiles were put into the canal, and a number of Egyptians then engaged them, killing 36 of thoſe animals. This ſport was ſucceeded by a fight almoſt as novel. A fleet had been fitted out after the Grecian manner, and another which was to oppoſe it, took the Perſian model. Theſe veſſels were all manned with condemned perſons, who had orders to fight in earneſt; and the great-

eſt part of them periſhed in the preſence of the people.

The Armenians, much about this time, depoſed their king Artabazes, and ſet up Tigranes in his ſtead. As this was in fact a revolt from their tributary ſtate, it was incumbent on Auguſtus to reſtore the depoſed monarch; but he was greatly at a loſs who to ſend into the eaſt, well knowing the danger that might ariſe from the commander of a victorious army. He therefore thought it the leaſt evil to appoint his grandſon, Caius Cæſar, though only nineteen, to this important truſt; and he ſettled every thing in a manner highly ſatisfactory to his grand-father.

The temple of Janus had only been twice ſhut prior to the reign of Auguſtus. After his ſucceſs againſt Antony, it was at two different periods for a ſhort time cloſed; and now, for a third time, this emblem of peace was again exhibited. From the foundation of Rome there had not been ſo univerſal tranquility as now appeared in the world;

and in this auſpicious interval the Prince of Peace, and Saviour of mankind was born.

Livia, who ſeems for a time to have loſt her influence over the Emperor, now regained it. This ſhe did by procuring the fineſt women at Rome for the gratification of Auguſtus. And at laſt ſhe prevailed on him to recall her ſon Tiberius, though on the expreſs condition, that he was not to intermeddle in public affairs. The death of Lucius Cæſar happened ſoon after his return; and it was not very long before Caius died alſo. The latter was wounded in a war which broke out with the Parthians; but as he ſurvived it for ſome time, Livia was ſuſpected of haſtening his fate; nor was ſhe free from ſuſpicion as to Lucius. Be that as it may, ſhe got Auguſtus to adopt Tiberius, together with Agrippa, his ſurviving grandſon. And Agrippa being a youth of no expectation, every one looked up to Tiberius as the ſole ſucceſſor to the empire.

Cornelius Cinna, a grandſon of Pompey

the Great, was now diſcovered at the head of a conſpiracy, which took in many of the chief men at Rome. Auguſtus, on receiving this information, was at a loſs how to avert the danger that threatened him; but by the advice of Livia, he reſolved on clemency. Cinna was ſent for, and informed his deſign was diſcovered. Inſtead of puniſhing him, he was forgiven, and appointed Conſul for the next year; and Cinna not only ſuppreſſed what had been intended, but continued from thenceforth moſt warmly attached to Auguſtus.

Either from his ill conduct, or what is more likely, from the intrigues of Livia and her ſon, Agrippa was baniſhed by his grandfather. Tiberius, and his nephew and adopted ſon Germanicus, the ſon of Druſus, were the firſt in Auguſtus's confidence; and both were ſucceſsfully employed in the ſuppreſſion of revolts in Germany, Panonia, and Dalmatia. But about the 11th year of the Chriſtian Æra, the greateſt part of the Roman forces in Germany were cut to pieces. This was

owing to the extortions of Quintilius Varrus, who had been left to command there, and who thereby occaſioned a very general revolt. Tiberius was immediately diſpatched, with a great reinforcement; he gave a favourable turn to affairs; and Germanicus, who ſucceeded him in the command, was ſtill more ſucceſsful. But tranquility was not perfectly re-eſtabliſhed till after the death of Auguſtus.

Towards the cloſe of the Emperor's reign, Tiberius became the full partner of his power. His death happened in the 15th year of Chriſt, and the 75th year of his own age. Auguſtus met his end with more compoſure than could have been expected, when we conſider the puſillanimity of his life: He called for a looking-glaſs, by the help of which he ſmoothed his hair, and the wrinkles in his cheeks, as was then cuſtomary for players to do in ſuch ſcenes upon the ſtage. Having done this, he aſked thoſe about him, whether he had not acted his part well? They replied, that he had, on which he bade them clap

him, for it was ended. And then turning to Livia, he deſired her to remember thoſe ties which had united their affections, and quietly expired. Livia was however ſuſpected of having haſtened this event, from an apprehenſion, that he would have been reconciled to Agrippa, to whom he had lately paid a viſit.

By his laſt will, the empire was left to Tiberius; and ſeveral donations were bequeathed to the ſoldiers and the Roman people. His body being conſumed, the aſhes were put into an urn of gold, and depoſited in a magnificent mauſoleum, erected by himſelf. Divine honours were decreed him, together with a temple, in which both prieſts and prieſteſſes were to officiate. The chief prieſteſs was Livia, to whom the additional name of Auguſta was given. It is ſomewhat ſingular, that as a ſenator had ſworn formerly, he had ſeen Romulus aſcend to heaven, ſo now a member of the ſenate ſolemnly depoſed, he beheld the ſoul of Auguſtus take the ſame courſe. This was Numericus Atticus, to

whom Livia gave 10,000 great ſeſterces, as a reward for this information; and temples were every where erected to the new deity throughout the Roman empire.

Before I proceed to the character of Auguſtus, it will not be amiſs to take a conciſe view of the age in which he reigned. From the time that the Roman arms penetrated into Greece and the Aſiatic provinces, all the arts and ornaments of thoſe countries, together with their literature, wealth, and luxuries, were flowing into Rome. But the conſtant foreign wars, and latterly their ſtill more dreadful civil diſſentions, retarded thoſe things from riſing to their ſummit. Theſe obſtacles were, however, removed by the death of Antony, and in the long interval from thence to the year 15 of the Chriſtian Æra, the tranquility of Rome and Italy was ſcarcely diſturbed. Literature, and all the arts and ſciences then known, were therefore cultivated without interruption in the capital of that vaſt empire where they had

centered. Inſtigated by Mæcenas and others, and probably by his own love of fame, thoſe who were poſſeſſed of great abilities, met with the greateſt encouragement from Auguſtus. And certainly there was no period prior to this, in which ſo many men of genius appeared, or when the manual arts were brought to greater perfection. But at the ſame time vice alſo triumphed, and virtue, both public and private, was almoſt unknown.

The ſucceſs of literature and the arts, cannot be aſcribed to any peculiar merit in the Emperor. We can trace their progreſſive riſe before he attained his power, and particularly in regard to literature. Terence, the comic poet, flouriſhed about the year 145, and Polybius, the hiſtorian, much about the ſame time. Neither of theſe indeed were Romans by birth, but they ſettled at Rome, and were of the firſt eminence there in their reſpective lines. Taken up with perpetual wars, the Romans themſelves had very little attended to literature; but by the times of Julius Cæſar, we find it was arduouſly cul-

tivated by the greateſt men then living. Cæſar himſelf, was almoſt as good an author as he was a general. Cicero was eminent in his compoſitions. Cornelius Nepos, Diodorus Siculus, and C. Salluſtius Criſpus, all of whom were hiſtorians, then flouriſhed. In the reign of Auguſtus, learning ſtill farther advanced, and poetry obtained the higheſt pitch it ever arrived at amongſt the Romans, or perhaps in the world. Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, were the firſt of theſe poets, and next to them Lucretius, Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius, beſides many others. Hiſtory had not yet reached its higheſt pinnacle, though Dionyſius Halycarnaſſus, Titus Livius, and Velleius Paterculus, who now wrote, were eminent writers. It is true, neither theſe authors, nor the different artiſts, would have been equally ſucceſsful in days of turbulence. But the tranquility that ſerved them, aroſe from circumſtances, and not from Auguſtus. He might indeed have wantonly ſhed the blood of ſenators and citizens,

though he had no competitor. But his doing ſo, would have been unwiſe and impolitic, as well as inhuman. And his abſtaining from ſuch acts, when he had no motive to commit them, can have no claim to our applauſe.

Having premiſed thus far, I ſhall briefly recapitulate the leading features in the character of this celebrated Emperor. Auguſtus had great abilities, with an application that called them into action. His ambition was unbounded, and to obtain his ends, no wickedneſs was an obſtacle. His favour with Julius Cæſar, his great uncle, is ſaid to have been owing to his being his catamite. And he is accuſed of having afterwards ſubmitted to the ſame infamous crime with the Conſul Hirtius, who bribed him with a large ſum of money. For the purpoſes of power and revenge, he joined in the moſt unmerciful proſcriptions, ſparing neither the connections of friendſhip or of blood. Some authors attempt a wretched palliative for ſuch crimes, alledging that they aroſe from neceſſity, and

that his temper was not naturally cruel. If this was even admitted, I am not ſure but it would add to his guilt. There is however one ſingle fact, that I think determines this point. During his firſt conſulate, he accuſed the Prætor Quintus Gellius of a deſign againſt his life, and got him condemned without any poſitive proof. Not content with this, he indulged his feelings by putting Gellius's eyes out with his own hands, though he had formerly been under great obligations to him. After which the ſentence was executed by the uſual officer. And ſuch is the native humanity which ſome, who ſeek to favour Auguſtus, have ventured to contend for.

When the ſupreme power was obtained, Auguſtus certainly changed his conduct. Except in a few inſtances, his hands were no longer ſtained with blood. Many wholeſome laws were enacted and enforced. But he himſelf practiſed with impunity, ſome of thoſe very crimes for which others were puniſhed with death. To the poets, hiſtorians, and

other men of genius, he behaved with great liberality; and beſides gratifying the Roman people with expenſive ſhews and entertainments, he often attended to the wants of individuals; but we muſt not be deceived by theſe external appearances. Hypocriſy and policy had been his conſtant attendants, whilſt riſing to power, and the ſame arts were now exerted in a different ſhape, to retain it with ſafety. From the conquered and tributary provinces, he had nothing to fear. They were therefore plundered through the medium of his creatures, and no extortion was puniſhed, provided he was made a ſharer in the ſpoil. As he always lived amidſt the Roman people or ſoldiers, danger could only ariſe from them. The wealth he thus unjuſtly amaſſed, was therefore ſpent in ſecuring their affections and diſarming their reſentments. And an almoſt oppreſſed world groaned beneath his yoke, that he might have the means of gilding thoſe chains which were impoſed upon his country.

In private life he was equally deteſtable.

After thoſe dreadful ſcenes which gave him what ambition demanded, luſt became the predominant paſſion. In the caſe of Mæcenas's wife, we perceive the ſacred name of friendſhip was no barrier. The love he pretended to Livia, could not prevent the moſt open infidelity; and with a want of delicacy, as well as virtue that is almoſt incredible, he at length made her the procureſs to his pleaſures.

To briefly ſum up this character, I will ſay, Auguſtus was a man of great abilities, who, without perſonal courage, raiſed himſelf to the ſupreme power; whoſe ſucceſs was chiefly owing to hypocriſy, and a heart devoid of juſtice and humanity. Who removed all that were obſtacles to his ambition, without remorſe or heſitation. Whoſe munificent acts aroſe from motives of intereſt, ſafety, or a regard to future fame. Whoſe love was merely luſt, without fidelity or delicacy. Whoſe ideas of friendſhip could not reſtrain him from the moſt grievous of injuries, to the man he called his friend. In

ſhort, Auguſtus was that ſelfiſh wretch who ſtudied in every thing his own gratification. And to accompliſh it, the miſery of an individual, or of a world, was equally indifferent. Such is the true portrait of him, whom Horace, Virgil, and other mercenary pens, have celebrated. And ſuch the new Deity, which was adored by the corrupt and venal Romans.

Tiberius began his reign with the murder of Agrippa, the grandſon of Auguſtus. Julia, his wife, he let periſh for want; but her vices might juſtify this act of the new emperor. His treatment of his mother, who in fact raiſed him to the empire, has no excuſe, for he almoſt immediately behaved to her with the greateſt contempt.

The forces in Panonia having revolted, and put many of their officers to death, Tiberius ſent his ſon Druſus againſt them. On this occaſion, an eclipſe of the moon ſo terrified the inſurgents, that they ſubmitted. But a revolt amongſt the German legions had like to have proved more ſerious. For

Germanicus, who commanded in Gaul, ſetting out to appeaſe it, they inſiſted on raiſing him to the Imperial dignity. This he however abſolutely refuſed, and being the idol of the army, he at length brought them to acknowledge Tiberius. After which he led all the forces in this quarter againſt ſome of the German nations, which were yet unſubdued; and by his ſucceſſes he added conſiderably to his former glory.

Though Germanicus's late conduct ought to have convinced Tiberius he had nothing to fear from him, yet he became extremely jealous of his fame. He therefore concealed his own vices, and by his clemency and mildneſs, endeavoured to raiſe his reputation. He leſſened the taxes on the provinces; he alſo applied himſelf to reform the manners of the people. And he not only encouraged, but ſet an example in his own manner of living, of frugality.

The ſucceſſes of Germanicus were ſuch, that all that part of the world, would in all likelihood have been ſubdued, had he been

ſuffered to continue. Tiberius was reſolved not to permit him to purſue his conqueſts, from an increaſe of jealouſy, which his chief miniſter Sejanus, carefully fomented. And he was therefore recalled, under the pretence of honouring him with a triumph. Much about the ſame time, Libo Druſus was accuſed of conſulting with magicians how to deſtroy the emperor; and he put himſelf to death, rather than abide the event of a trial. One of the magicians was condemned, and thrown from the Tarpeian rock. And the reſt of that fraternity, together with all the aſtrologers and fortune tellers, which greatly abounded, were baniſhed from Italy.

Clemeſis, a bondman to the late Agrippa, and ſomewhat like him, pretended to be his maſter; but was ſeized and put to death before he could do much miſchief. A revolt which happened in Numidia, was likewiſe quelled; and Druſus was ſent to ſuppreſs a riſing in Illyricum. Some diſturbances having ariſen in Aſia, Germanicus, after receiving the higheſt honours at Rome, was or-

dered into the Eaſt. This was the fourth year of Tiberius's reign, in which a great earthquake deſtroyed twelve cities in Aſia, beſides doing a great deal of miſchief in Sicily and Calabria. And the emperor gained a good deal of credit by his generoſity to thoſe who ſuffered on this occaſion.

Some additions were made to the empire both in Thrace and Germany; and in the Eaſt, Germanicus, with his accuſtomed good fortune, reduced Cappadocia and Comagene to Roman provinces. He likewiſe ſettled the affairs of the tributary kingdom of Armenia, and renewed the alliance with Parthia. But neither the virtue or ſervices of Germanicus, could ſave him from the deſigns of his enemies. He died, as is generally ſuppoſed, of poiſon, in the 24th year of his age; and by all accounts, he did not leave behind him a better or a braver Roman.

It was at Antioch that he expired, and Piſo, the governor of Syria, on his return to Rome, was accuſed of his death. It is doubtful, whether Piſo put an end to his life, or

was ſlain by order of Tiberius. But the latter was univerſally ſuppoſed to have occaſioned Germanicus's fate, though he laboured by every means to avoid ſo odious a ſuſpicion.

Several trivial revolts took place and were ſubdued in various quarters. But what is ſtill better worth our notice, are the intrigues at home. The Emperor's chief miniſter Sejanus, had gained the moſt perfect aſcendancy over his maſter. The Prætorian guards were devoted to him. As all favours paſſed through his hands, he had alſo a formidable party in both city and ſenate. Thus prepared, he meditated to raiſe himſelf to the ſupreme power. And in order to do ſo, he reſolved to remove by degrees, all that were of the blood royal.

Druſus, the ſon of Tiberius, was the firſt who fell. He had in vain endeavoured to open the eyes of his father, and Sejanus having debauched the wife of Druſus, they, in conjunction, adminiſtered a ſlow poiſon, which carried him off. Druſus left two ſons, but

being both infants, Tiberius declared Nero and Druſus, the two eldeſt of Germanicus's offſpring, to be his ſucceſſors in the empire.

This was however no ſooner done, than Sejanus found means to perſuade Tiberius, that a ſtrong party was formed in favour of Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and her children. To ſupport this ſuppoſed plot, informers were encouraged; and many innocent perſons ſuffered death or baniſhment in conſequence of it. Agrippina herſelf was not yet out of favour, but by the artifices of Sejanus, the diſgrace of her and her two ſons, was near at hand.

Tiberius, who was devoted to his luſts, and every ſort of pleaſure, was prevailed on by Sejanus to retire to the iſland Capræa, that he might no longer be interrupted in his gratifications. Every thing that he took delight in, had been previouſly provided. And the Emperor abandoning himſelf to ſenſuality, left all public affairs to the will of his miniſter. This happened in the 12th year of his reign, and the family of Germanicus ſoon

felt its effects. Their adherents were exiled or put to death. Agrippina, and Nero her ſon, were alſo baniſhed, and Druſus died in confinement.

The ſenate perceiving all power veſted in Sejanus, paid him ſuch honours as a little rouſed the jealouſy of Tiberius. Other circumſtances increaſed it, which being perceived by ſome around him, they ventured to point out his real ſituation. When Tiberius found that he was, in fact, in the abſolute power of Sejanus, all the ſoldiers in Capræa being devoted to him; he ſaw that his ſafety depended on the greateſt circumſpection. That his miniſter aimed at the ſupreme power, he had now no doubt; he therefore reſolved on the deepeſt diſſimulation, to which he was perfectly equal. And raiſing Sejanus to be his colleague in the conſulſhip, he ſent him to reſide at Rome during the year. This was conſidered by the favourite as the greateſt proof of his maſter's attachment. But from that moment every poſſible ſtep was taken to remove him with ſafety.

Caius Caligula, the third ſon of Germanicus, had eſcaped the fate of his mother and brothers, and was now at Capræa. Though a youth, he had hypocriſy ſufficient to work himſelf into the good graces of Tiberius. Having taken effectual means to ſap the power of the miniſter, it was now made public, that Caligula was intended to ſucceed to the empire. This was a ſevere blow to the credit of Sejanus, and Tiberius ſoon after ventured to have him ſeized in the ſenate. His condemnation and execution immediately followed. The dead body was then torn in pieces by the populace. And by the inhuman orders of the Emperor, his children, and all who had any connection with him, without regard either to ſex or age, were executed. The murder of his ſon Druſus coming to light, his widow was, with juſtice, ſtarved to death. But the ſame cannot be ſaid as to thoſe who had the misfortune to be her friends or intimates, and who were alſo doomed to periſh. Indeed from this time forth, a more bloody tyrant never ex-

iſted than Tiberius. His jealouſies were frivolous and unbounded; and friends and foes were almoſt promiſcuouſly ſlaughtered by his orders. His luſts, many of which were of the moſt abominable kind, kept pace with his cruelties; and both of them rather increaſed than diminiſhed, till death put a period to them in the 37th year of the Chriſtian Æra; which was four years after the period to which I have now been directing your attention.

FIFTH LETTER.

YOU muſt again have obſerved new nations appearing, whoſe barbarity was an evidence of the lateneſs of their formation; and is conſequently an additional proof of the progreſſive ſtate of mankind. But though ſome kingdoms were thus in their infancy, a more general degree of cultivation had taken place than had ever before exiſted. A greater

empire had ariſen than any that had preceded it. In Rome, its capital, were centered the knowledge and improvements of the earth. Sculpture, painting, architecture, and all the manual arts, were brought to perfection. There were various writers who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in hiſtory, philoſophy, and the ſciences. Some of the greateſt orators and beſt poets that have ever appeared, flouriſhed towards the cloſe of my preſent æra. And without all doubt, the Auguſtan age was the ſummit of the heathen world.

Theſe improvements were however more dazzling than really advantageous. They indeed gratified the ſenſes, whilſt there was nothing in them that could ſecure the happineſs of man. Univerſality of empire, ought to have produced univerſality of peace and affluence. But inſtead of ſuch fruits, miſery and wretchedneſs were its offſpring. The conquered countries were either reduced into provinces or tributary kingdoms. The firſt were grievouſly oppreſſed by the avarice and venality of the Roman Prætors and Quæſtors. The lat-

ter ſuffered as much, if not more, from a double taxation; one part of which went to Rome, and the other to their reſpective princes. And beſides this, multitudes from the ſubjected nations, were rendered the menial ſlaves of the imperious Romans.

This being the political ſtate of the members, let us examine the head of this extenſive empire. I ſhall not recount the horrid ſcenes which took place in the Roman civil wars, but confine myſelf to the times when domeſtic peace was reſtored. It is true, that the tribute of the almoſt then known world, was laviſhed at Rome after the death of Antony; nor do I wonder at the praiſes of thoſe ſenſualiſts, who lived in the ſunſhine of Auguſtus's court. But will any man ſay, that the form of government was eligible, which was at this time eſtabliſhed? The lives, the poſſeſſions, and the deareſt privileges of nature, were held at the will of the Emperor. This was experienced by ſeveral, even in the latter part of Auguſtus's reign. Tiberius more fully convinced them of the

deplorable ſtate into which they had fallen. And many of the ſubſequent Emperors exceeded that monſter in tyrannic oppreſſion.

I have hitherto been ſpeaking of exterior government only. Let us now take a ſhort view of their interior ſituation. As to the provinces and tributary kingdoms, ſuffice it to ſay, each had its peculiar cuſtoms and vices, and that the Roman depravities were introduced into them all. Beſides thoſe crimes, which were practiſed by the Romans contrary to their laws, there were many deteſtable ones, to which no puniſhment was allotted. Amongſt ſuch, were their cruel and bloody exhibitions of gladiators. Their divorces at the will of the huſband, in theſe days became extremely common. So did the practice of fathers expoſing their infant progeny to die. The lewdneſs of the women, which was grown exceſſive, was encouraged by public ſtews and brothels being conſecrated to certain of their Deities. And

what is more abominable than all, the moſt unnatural luſts were openly exerciſed.

Thus we find, that whilſt all external things were brought to a high degree of excellence in the reign of Auguſtus, ſo alſo had vice obtained its ſummit. Wretchedneſs, its inſeparable companion, likewiſe pervaded the empire, Rome itſelf not being an exception. The cauſe of theſe evils is worthy of our reſearches; and I apprehend we ſhall find it, in the ignorance of God, the duties due to him, and to the uncertainty of their own immortality.

Every country had its peculiar Deities; and many were common to all. Theſe were worſhipped with various rites, ſome of which were luſtful, cruel, and abominable. Their Gods and Goddeſſes were painted with all the paſſions of mortals, and which they equally indulged. They were therefore patterns of vice, and not of virtue. The prieſts and prieſteſſes made all religious duty conſiſt in vain ceremonies and offerings. And if they and their temples were enriched, the

only end they had in view was fully anſwered. Without doubt, this religion was only believed by the ignorant multitude, in the æra I at preſent treat of. But then, the learned and higher ranks of life, flew to the different ſects of philoſophers, from whom they re-received but little advantage; for though they rejected abſolute idolatry, the human underſtanding, unaided by the Deity, in vain attempted to attain the truth.

In Aſia, thoſe who roſe above the common prejudices, either adopted the opinion of the Perſian Magi, or the Eaſtern doctrine of Gnoſis or ſcience. The firſt which ſuppoſed two principles, the one good and the other evil, which were conſtantly combating with each other, I have treated of at large in my third æra. The latter allowed a God, from whom all ſpirits derived their exiſtence; but they made matter co-eternal with him, and in it they ſuppoſed evil to be veſted. They alſo ſaid, that an intelligence inferior to the Deity, formed this world and its in-

habitants out of matter. And a number of abſurd conſequences were drawn from this erroneous ſyſtem.

Amongſt the Greeks and Romans, five ſects had their followers. Theſe were the Platoniſts, the Stoics, the Peripatetics, the Academics, and the Epicureans. Plato who came the neareſt to truth, taught the immortality of the ſoul, and that one great and good Being governed the univerſe. But though he reaſoned well, yet ſtill theſe glorious principles were not free from doubt and obſcurity. The Stoics ſuppoſed God to reſide above the ſtars, to be a corporeal Being, connected with matter, but ſubject to the determinations of an immutable fate. And inſtead of the abſolute immortality of the human ſoul, they only allowed it a greater period of exiſtence than the body. Ariſtotle who founded the Peripatetics, deſcribes God as a principle, happy in the contemplation of itſelf, that gives life or motion to the univerſe, but totally diſregards all human affairs. Nor does this philoſopher poſitively aſſert the immor-

tality of the ſoul. The Academics ſaid it was impoſſible to arrive at truth. They doubted of the exiſtence of God, of immortality, and of a diſtinction between virtue and vice. The Epicureans aſſigned the formation of the world to chance; they aſſerted, that the Gods paid no attention to it, that the ſoul periſhed with the body, that virtue had no claim to eſteem, and that pleaſure was the only purſuit worthy of attention. Of all the opinions then prevalent, this was the worſt, for it abſolutely encouraged wickedneſs; but it was the beſt received amongſt the diſſolute Romans. A ſect, later in formation than thoſe I have mentioned, was very conſiderable in Egypt at the time of Chriſt's death. It was called the Eclectic, taking its tenets from all the reſt, rejecting ſuch parts of each as they diſliked. But it was incapable of arriving at truth.

The Jews alone had been favoured with the true knowledge of the creation, of immortality, and of God. But their teachers

had ſo perverted every thing, that they were not a great deal more enlightened than the heathens. We may therefore ſafely pronounce, that an almoſt univerſal ignorance of God—of the immortality of man—and of future rewards and puniſhments, prevailed when the Meſſiah began to execute his miſſion. It is allowed by all, that the heathen ſyſtem was at its height in the Auguſtan age. And as it was accompanied by wretchedneſs, oppreſſion and vice, we may with certainty infer, that mere human wiſdom, and mere human inventions, are abſolutely incapable of eſtabliſhing the happineſs, either of individuals or of nations. Various laws, various conſtitutions had been formed, and various ſtates had ariſen to power; all of which, in their turn, paſſed their ſummit and went into decay. But none of them made mankind virtuous—none could render them happy. Such was the experience men had of their own natural weakneſs and depravity when Chriſt promulgated the road to univerſal happineſs, and laid the foundation of a ter-

reſtrial kingdom, that ſhall bind the earth in one cloſe ſyſtem of undiſturbed felicity.

The certainty of Chriſt's perſonal reign on earth, and the time of its duration, will come in better after I have made you acquainted with all the important events of the world. In the mean time let me aſſure you, we have the undoubted and never failing word of prophecy, that this glorious kingdom ſhall ariſe. Such was the belief of the Apoſtles, and all the chriſtians neareſt to their times. Such is now the expectation of the diſperſed and wandering Jews. They are then to be gathered, who are at this moment a ſtanding miracle and literal accompliſhment of part of the ſacred predictions. And then, as is foretold, nation ſhall riſe up againſt nation no more. Their ſpears ſhall be beat into ploughſhares, and their ſwords be converted into pruning hooks. Then ſhall every heart be taught of God, and out of Holy Sion ſhall come forth the univerſal law.

This cloſes the hiſtory of the world from the creation to the introduction of chriſtianity.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM